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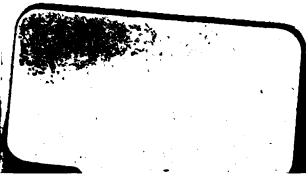
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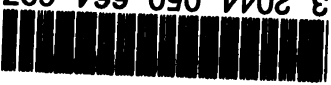
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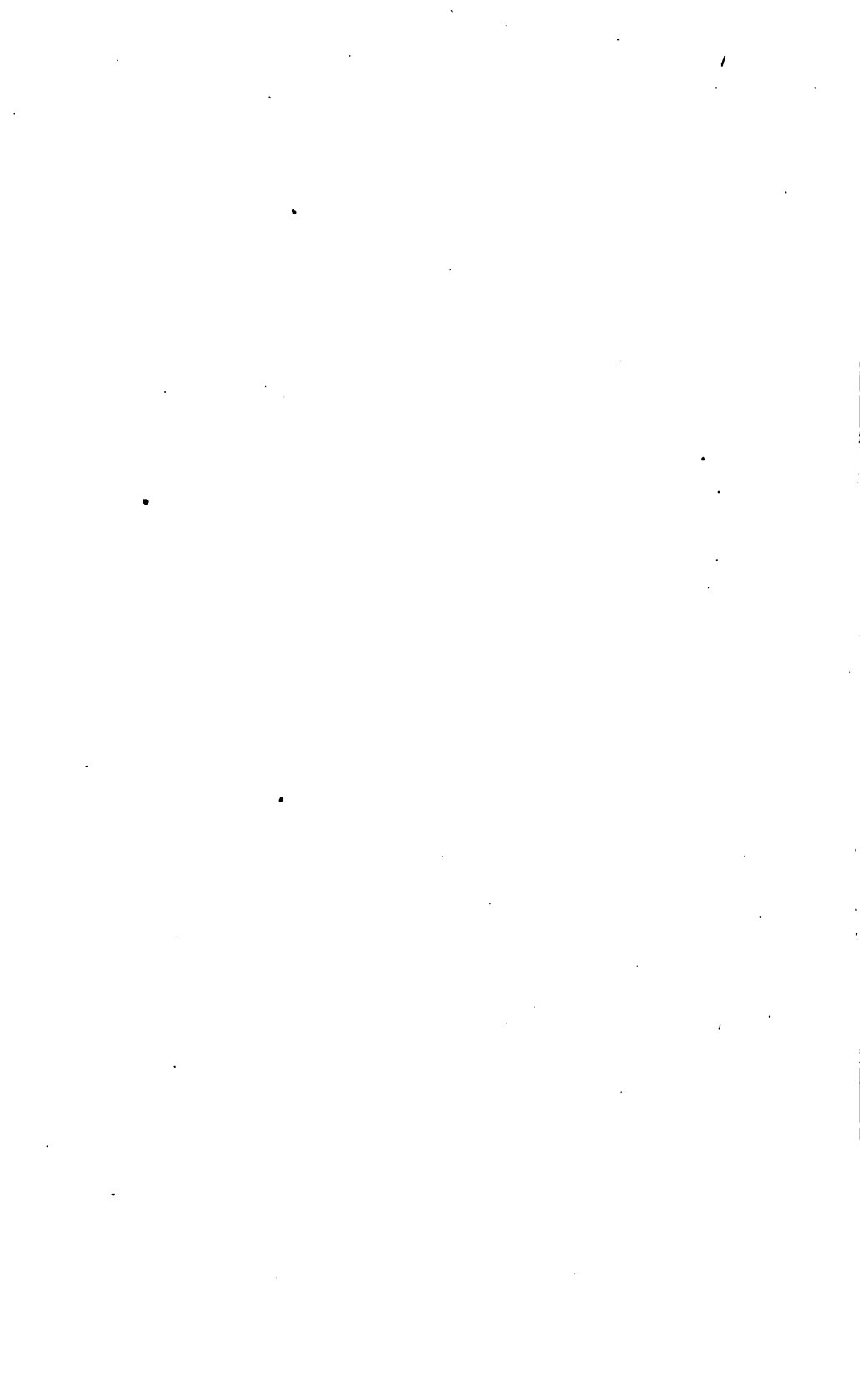




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coast, and owe their wonderful state of preservation, I fancy, to the well known preserving qualities of peat. "These bones must be at least two hundred years old, as I believe the Dodo has been extinct for that length of time."

"Though once the Dodo was to be found anywhere in Mauritius, no bones have ever been found up to within the last five weeks. They were found in the following manner: "Mr. Du Bissy, the owner of the bog (called the *Mare des Songes*) in which the bones were found, had a lot of the peat soil taken out for manure; some bones having been found, Mr. Clarke's attention was called to them. They proved to be the bones of a species of Turtle, now extinct in Mauritius. He prosecuted a fresh search, and found the bones of the Dodo, which have, I believe, been sent to the British Museum. I had men searching for them in conjunction with him, and succeeded in finding a great many bones that were still wanting to complete a skeleton.

(Signed)

"HARRY P. HIGGINSON."

Dr. GINSBURG then read the following paper—on "The English Versions of the Bible, in their connexion with the Ancient Translations."

## FOURTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 30th, 1866.

Dr. NEVINS, V. P., in the Chair.

Ladies were present at this meeting on the invitation of the Council.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Dr. Fraag was duly elected an ordinary member. Cuthbert Collingwood, M.A. and M.B., Oxon., F.L.S., &c., was duly elected an honorary member.

Mr. T. J. Moore exhibited and made some remarks upon the mounted skeleton of the Dodo, formed from the series of bones from Mauritius collected by Mr. Harry P. Higginson, and presented by him (through the kind offices of Mr. James P. Higginson) to the Derby Museum, and which in their dismounted state were brought before a recent meeting of the society. The skeleton needed only the hinder part of the cranium, the toe bones, and a few ribs and vertebrae to make it perfect. The *furculum* and a few other bones had been lent to Professor Owen, to aid him in the preparation of his forthcoming monograph on this extinct bird.

The following note was received with these valuable and most interesting remains:—

“MAHEBOURG, MAURITIUS,

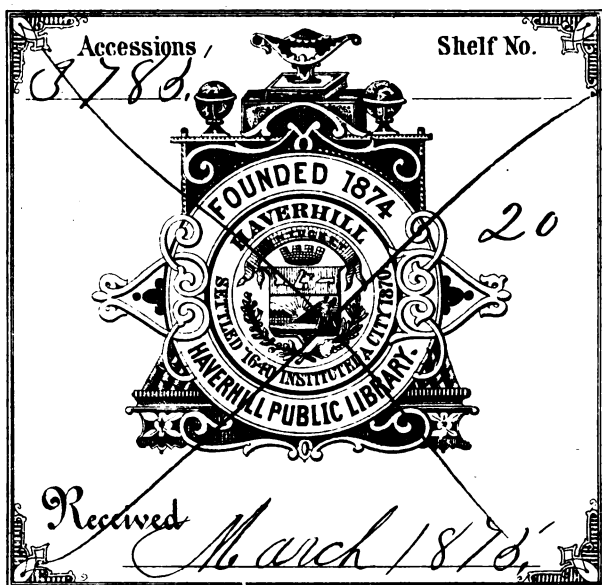
“November 5th, 1865.

“The accompanying bones, belonging without doubt to the Dodo, were found in a peat bog, within a mile of the sea

firm grasp of first principles which he possessed,—the extent and variety of his learning,—the acuteness and subtlety of his mind,—we cannot but recognise him as one of the master spirits of the age; and when we review the service he has rendered in the various departments of Metaphysics, Theology, Politics, Criticism and Poetry, we can scarcely dissent from the conclusion, that the influence of Coleridge on these great questions has been beneficial to mankind to an extent which has hardly been exceeded by any of his contemporaries.



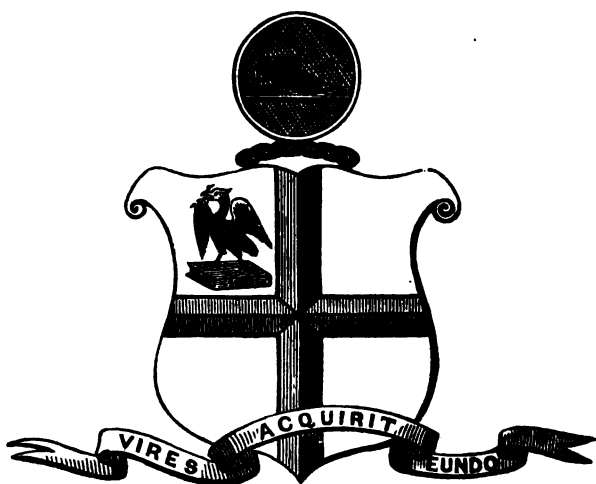
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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY  
OF  
LIVERPOOL,  
DURING THE  
FIFTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1865-66.  
No. XX.



LONDON:  
LONGMAN, GREEN, READER, & DYER.  
LIVERPOOL:  
DAVID MARPLES, LORD STREET.  
—  
1867.

△  
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This Volume has been edited by the Honorary Secretary.

The Authors have revised their Papers.

The Authors alone are responsible for facts and opinions.

The Society exchanges Proceedings with other publishing bodies,  
through the Secretary, from whom back numbers may be obtained.

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The Paper by Dr. Ginsburg, on "THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE," the first part of which it was intended should be published with this Volume, not being quite ready, it has been decided to issue it complete in a separate form; but the pagination will be continued from this Volume, so that any Member, wishing to do so, may bind the Paper with the Volume to which it properly belongs.

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## SESSION LV., 1865-66.

### *President :*

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### ORDINARY MEMBERS

ON THE SOCIETY'S ROLL AT THE CLOSE OF THE 55TH SESSION.

*Those marked † are Original Members of the Society.*

*Life Members are marked with an Asterisk.*

Oct. 11, 1833 Aikin, James, 2, *Drury-lane*, and 4, *Gambier-terrace*.

Jan. 8, 1861 Anderson, David, 5, *Castle-street*, and 7, *Church street*,  
*Egremont*.

March 7, 1864 Archer, F. jun., B.A. Trin. Coll., Cantab., 10, *Rodney-*  
*street*, and 5, *Fenwick-street*.

\*Nov. 28, 1853 Archer, T. C., F.R.S.E., F.R.S.S.A., Director of the  
Industrial Museum, Scotland, *Edinburgh*.

Dec. 14, 1863 Ashe, Theop. Fielding, 45, *South Castle-street*, and 4,  
*Dingle-lane*.

Feb. 22, 1855 Avison, Thomas, F.S.A., 18, *Cook-street*, and *Fulwood-*  
*park*, *Aigburth*.



- Dec. 10, 1860 Barr, Rev. Hermann, Ph. D.
- Jan. 11, 1864 Bagshaw, John, 87, *Church-street*, and *Canning-terrace*, 201, *Upper Parliament-street*.
- May 1, 1854 Bahr, G. W., 4, *Cable-street*, and 2, *South-hill Grove*, *Aigburth*.
- May 4, 1863 Bailey, Fras. J., M.R.C.S., 51, *Grove-street*.
- April 17, 1865 Baker, W. J., 24, *Fenwick-street*.
- Dec. 15, 1862 Balman, Thomas, M.D., 6, *Bedford-street South*.
- Oct. 29, 1860 Banister, Rev. W., B.A., *St. James's Mount*.
- Jan. 13, 1862 Baruchson, Arnold, 8, *Edmund-street*, and *Blundell-sands*, *Great Crosby*.
- Nov. 3, 1862 Behrend, Saml. H., M.A., 24, *Clarendon Rooms*.
- March 9, 1857 Bell, Christopher, *Moor-street*, and 60, *Bridge-street*, *Birkenhead*.
- Nov. 14, 1864 Bennett, J. M., *St. George's Buildings*, *Lime-street*, and 109, *Shaw-street*.
- Feb. 6, 1854 Bennett, William, *St. George's-place*, *Lime-street*, and *Lancaster*.
- Nov. 2, 1863 Billson, Alfred, 10, *Cook-street*, and 14, *Sandon-street*.
- Oct. 31, 1859 Birch, Jas., 13, *The Temple*, *Dale-street*.
- Jan. 25, 1864 Birchall, James, *Industrial Schools*, *Kirkdale*.
- April 15, 1861 Blake, James, 63, *Kitchen-street*, and 45, *Canning-street*.
- Mar. 9, 1866 Blood, William, *Chamber of Commerce*.
- Jan. 12, 1863 Bolton, Ogden, *Prince's Buildings*, *Harrington-street*, and 10, *Great George-square*.
- \*Mar. 6, 1835 Boulton, Swinton, 1, *Dale-st.*, and 3, *Bedford-street South*.
- Nov. 27, 1865 Biggs, Arthur Worthington, *Brown's Buildings*, and 76, *Upper Huskisson-street*. (I. Cook and Sons.)
- Oct. 21, 1844 Bright, Samuel, 1, *North John-street*, and *Sandheys*, *Mill-lane*, *West Derby*.
- \*Jan. 8, 1855 Brockholes, James Fitzherbert, *Puddington Old Hall*, near *Neston*.
- Oct. 31, 1864 Bromham, William, 57, *South John-street*, and 8, *Montpellier-terrace*, *Upper Parliament-street*.
- Dec. 2, 1861 Browne, G. Mansfield, 15, *Fenwick-street*, and 15, *South-hill-road*, *Toxteth-Park*.
- April 21, 1862 Bulley, Samuel, *Borough Buildings*, and *East Lodge*, *Prince's Park*.
- April 18, 1864 Burne, Joseph, *Royal Insurance Office*, 1, *North John-street*, and *Higher Tranmere*.

- Mar. 9, 1863 Buxton, David, F.R.S.L., Principal of the School for the Deaf and Dumb, *Oxford-street*.
- \*May 1, 1848 Byerley, Isaac, F.L.S., F.R.C.S., *Victoria-road, Seacombe*, TREASURER.
- Feb. 23, 1863 Callon, W.J., M.D., 125, *Islington*.
- Nov. 8, 1862 Cameron, John, M.D., M.R.C.P., Physician to the Southern Hospital, and Lecturer on Medicine at Royal Inf. Sch. of Med., 17, *Rodney-street*.
- April 7, 1862 Campbell, John, *Liverpool and London Chambers*, and *Oak-house, Aigburth-hall-road*.
- Jan. 9, 1865 Cariss, Astrup, *Cook-street*, and 6, *Hope-place*.
- April 7, 1862 Cawkitt, James M., *Underwriters' Room, Exchange*, and 23, *Queen's-road, Everton*.
- Dec. 2, 1861 Chadburn, William, 71, *Lord-street*.
- Dec. 1, 1851 Clare, John Leigh, *Exchange-buildings*, and *The Old Hall, Aigburth-road*.
- Oct. 31, 1859 Clark, Charles, 17, *North John-street*, and *Linden Cottage, Rock Ferry*.
- Jan. 26, 1857 Clay, William, 97, *Sefton-street*, and 4, *Parkhill-road*.
- Jan. 22 1866, Cohen, Lewis, S., 44, *Ranelagh-street*.
- Jan. 26, 1863 Commins, Andrew, LL.D. Dub., *Clarendon-chambers*, 1, *South John-street*.
- Jan. 22, 1850 Cox, Henry, 21, *Exchange-alley*, and *Waterloo*.
- Oct. 6, 1862 Crosfield, Wm., jun., 28, *Temple-st.*, and *Alexandra-drive, Ullett-road*.
- Feb. 8, 1864 Cuthbert, J. R., 40, *Chapel-street*, and 40, *Huskisson-street*.
- Jan. 26, 1857 Dadabhai Naoroji, Professor of Gujurati, London University, 32, *Great St. Helens, London, E.C.*
- Nov. 2, 1863 Dawbarn, William, *The Temple, Dale-street*, and 99, *Shaw-street*.
- Nov. 27, 1848 Dove, Percy Matthew, F.S.S., 1, *North John-street*, and *Claughton*.
- Nov. 27, 1863 Dove, Jno. M., *Royal Insurance Office*, and *Claughton*.
- Jan. 23, 1848 Drysdale, John James, M.D. Edin., M.R.C.S. Edin., 44, *Rodney-street*.
- Oct. 5, 1863 Drysdale, W. G., 7, *Elm-terrace, Beech-street, Fairfield*, and 14, *East side Queen's Dock*.
- Feb. 4, 1856 Duckworth, Henry, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., 5, *Cook-street*, and 2, *Gambier-terrace*.

- \*Nov. 27, 1848 Edwards, John Baker, Ph.D. Ges., F.C.S., *Montreal*.  
VICE PRESIDENT.
- March 10, 1862 Ellison, Christopher O., *Adelphi-chambers, South John-street, and Esplanade, Waterloo*.
- April 7, 1862 English, Charles J., 26, *Chapel-street*, and 26, *Falkner-square*.
- Feb. 20, 1865 English, C. R., 26, *Falkner-square*.
- Dec. 14, 1863 Erskine, Robert,
- Nov. 27, 1865 Estill, Fred. Chas., 1, *Liverpool and London Chambers*.
- Nov. 18, 1850 Evans, Henry Sugden, F.C.S., 52, *Hanover-street*, and *Rainhill Mount, Rainhill*.
- April 30, 1860 Fabert, John Otto William, 1, *Parliament-street*, and 3, *St. James' Mount*.
- Oct. 31, 1864 Fearenside, William, 5, *Cook-street*, and *Seacombe*.
- \*Dec. 13, 1852 Ferguson, William, F.L.S., F.G.S., *Oriel-chambers*, and 2, *St. Aidan's-terrace, Birkenhead*.
- Feb. 9, 1863 Finlay, William, Senior Mathematical Master, Middle School, *Liverpool College*, and 49, *Everton-road*.
- \*April 3, 1837 Fletcher, Edward, 4, *India-buildings*, and 31, *High Park-street*.
- \*Mar. 19, 1855 Foard, James Thomas, 5, *Essex-court, Temple, E.C.*
- \*Feb. 6, 1854 Gee, Robert, M.D. Heidelb. M.R.C.P., Lecturer on Diseases of Children, Royal Infirmary School of Med.; Physician, Workhouse Hospital; 5, *Abercromby-square*.
- March 4, 1861 Ginsburg, Rev. Christian D., LL.D. Glasg., *Brooklea, Aigburth-road*. VICE PRESIDENT.
- Feb. 20, 1865 Gordon, Rev. A., M.A., 49, *Upper Parliament-street*.
- Dec. 2, 1861 Graves, Samuel R., M.P., *Baltic-buildings*, and *The Grange, Wavertree*.
- Oct. 5, 1863 Gray, Jno. M'Farlane, *Vauxhall Foundry*, and 80, *Prince Edwin-street*.
- Nov. 14, 1853 Greenwood, Henry, 32, *Castle-street*, and *Roseville, Huyton*.
- Jan. 22, 1855 Hakes, James, M.R.C.S., Surgeon to the Northern Hospital, *Hope-street*.
- Feb. 23, 1863 Hall, Charlton R. 17, *Dale street*, and 111, *Shaw-street*.
- \*Jan. 21, 1856 Hardman, Lawrence, 5, *India-buildings*, and *Rock-park, Rock Ferry*.

# ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- Feb. 9, 1863 Hart, Thos. Aubrey, M.A. Oxon, 81, *Bedford-street South*.
- Feb. 6, 1865 Hassan, Rev. E. *Alma-terrace, Sandown-lane*.
- Nov. 13, 1865 Hayward, John Williams, M.D., 15, *Mount Vernon-road*.
- Feb. 6, 1865 Hebson, Douglas, 13, *Tower-chambers*, and 58, *Bedford-street South*.
- March 6, 1865 Hey, John, M.R.C.S., 126, *Islington*.
- Dec. 28, 1846 Higgins, Rev. H. H., M.A. Cantab., F.C.P.S., *Rainhill*.
- \*Oct. 31, 1836 Higginson, Alfred, M.R.C.S., Surg. Southern Hosp., 44, *Upper Parliament-street*.
- Nov. 16, 1863 Holden, Adam, 48, *Church-street*, and 6, *Carlton-terrace, Milton-road*.
- Nov. 13, 1854 Holland, Charles, 70, *Tower-buildings South*, and *Liscard-vale, New Brighton*.
- \*Dec. 14, 1862 Holt, Robert Durning, 6, *India-buildings*, and 2, *Rake-lane*.
- March 22, 1847 Horner, Henry P., 2 *Derby-square*, and 5, *Devonshire-road, Prince's-park*.
- Jan. 9, 1865 Howse, Rev. E., 4, *Bold-street, Southport*.
- Nov. 4, 1850 Howson, Rev. John S., D.D. Trin. Col., Cantab., *Wisbeach Rectory*.
- Dec. 27, 1841 Hume, Rev. Abraham, D.C.L. Dub., LL.D. Glas., F.S.A., 24, *Fitz-Clarence-street, Everton*.
- Nov. 28, 1864 Humphreys, William, *Vauxhall Foundry*.
- \*Nov. 13, 1854 Hunter, John, Member Hist. Society Pennsylvania, *Halifax, Nova Scotia*.
- Jan. 13, 1862 Hutchison, Robert, *Barned's-buildings, Sweeting-street*, and 6, *Canning-street*.
- Jan. 26, 1857 Hutton, David, 3, *St. George's-crescent*, and 61, *Canning-street*.
- \*April 29, 1850 Ihne, William, Ph. D. Bonn, *Villa Felseck, Heidelberg*.
- Feb. 23, 1857 Imlach, Henry, M.D. Edin., 1, *Abercromby-square*.
- Nov. 14, 1864 Imlach, Henry, jun., 1, *Abercromby-square*.
- \*Oct. 21, 1844 Inman, Thomas, M.D. London, M.R.C.P., Physician Royal Infirmary, 12, *Rodney-st.*, and *Spital, Cheshire*.
- Nov. 28, 1864 Jeffery, F. J., *Compton House*, and *Woolton Hall, Woolton*.
- March 10, 1862 Johnson, Richard, *Queen Insurance Buildings*, and *Brookfield House, Seaforth*.

- Jan. 26, 1863 Johnson, Richard jun., *Queen Insurance-buildings*.
- March 9, 1863 Jones, Rev. Joshua, M.A. Oxon, King William's College, *Isle of Man*.
- \*April 4, 1852 Jones, Morris Charles, *Queen Insurance-buildings*, and 75, *Shaw-street*.
- May 5, 1851 Jones, Roger Lyon, *Liverpool and London-chambers*, *Exchange*, and 6, *Sunnyside, Prince's-park*.
- April 2, 1866 Jones, Rev. J. S. 3, *Clare-street*.
- Oct. 2, 1865 Kendal, Robinson, 15, *Water-street*.
- Feb. 19, 1855 King, Alfred, 14, *Newington*, and 9, *Netherfield-road South*.
- Feb. 20, 1865 Lalcaca, Dhunjeeshaw Moneckjee, *Mawdsley-chambers*, 8, *Castle-street*, and 6, *Ashleigh, Anfield*.
- Jan. 10, 1848 Lampport, William James, 21, *Water-street*, and 5, *Beech-terrace, Beech-street, Fairfield*.
- \*Jan. 14, 1839 Lassell, William, F.R.SS. L. and E., F.R.A.S., 27, *Milton-street*.
- April 27, 1862 Lassell, William, jun., 27, *Milton-street*, and *Tuebrook*.
- Oct. 21, 1844 Lear, John, 14, *Cook-street*, and 22, *Holland-terrace, Duke-street, Edge Hill*.
- Feb. 10, 1862 Leycester, Edmund Mortimore, Commander R.N., *Admiralty Office*, 2, *Drury-lane*, and 20, *Belvedere-road, Prince's-park*.
- Dec. 10, 1860 Leyland, Joseph, *Williamson-square*.
- May 4, 1863 Lister, James, *Union Bank*, 6, *Brunswick-street*.
- Oct. 20, 1859 M'Andrew, James Johnston, 24, *North John-street*, and *Greenfield Cottage, Bromborough*.
- \*Oct. 21, 1844 M'Andrew, Robert, F.R.S., F.L.S., *Isleworth House, Isleworth, London*.
- April 17, 1865 MacCheane, Wm., M.R.C.S., 69, *Shaw-street*.
- March 9, 1857 MacFie, Robert Andrew, 80, *Moorfields*, and *Ashfield Hall, Neston, Cheshire*.
- April 2, 1866 McMullen, James A. *Huyton*.
- April 20, 1863 Marples, David, 50B, *Lord-street*, and 168, *Chatham-st.*
- Jan. 21, 1839 Martin, Studley, 30, *Exchange*, and 109, *Bedford-st. S.*
- Feb. 5, 1844 Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.E.S., 68, *Lord-street*, and *Pennant's House, Lower Bevington*.
- Jan. 12, 1863 Mellor, Rev. Enoch, M.A., 18, *Devonshire-rd., Prince's park*.
- April 1, 1861 Melly, George, 7, *Water-street*, and 90, *Chatham-street*.

- Oct. 31, 1859 Moore, Thomas John, Corr. Mem. Z.S., Curator Free Public Museum, *William Brown-street*.
- Jan. 8, 1855 Morton, George Highfield, F.G.S., 9, *London-road*.
- April 16, 1849 Moss, Rev. John James, B.A., *Upton, Cheshire*.
- Oct. 29, 1850 Mott, Albert Julius, *Church-street, and Waterloo*.
- April 3, 1854 Mott, Charles Grey, 27, *Argyle-street, Birkenhead*.
- Nov. 27, 1865 Mountfield, William, 301, *Upper Parliament-street*.
- Oct. 20, 1856 Nevins, John Birkbeck, M.D., Lond., M.R.C.S., Lect. on *Materia Medica*, Royal Infirmary School of Medicine, 25, *Oxford-street*. VICE PRESIDENT.
- April 7, 1862 Newlands, A., 6, *Rumford-Place*, and 19 *Peel-terrace, Upper Canning-street*.
- Feb. 6, 1865 Newton, John, M.R.C.S., 13, *West Derby-street*.
- \*Nov. 29, 1847 Nisbet, William, L.F.P.S.G., *Church-street, Egremont*.
- \*Oct. 15, 1855 North, Alfred, 20, *York Crescent, Clifton*.
- Nov. 18, 1861 Nugent, Rev. James, *Crosby*.
- Dec. 11, 1865 Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, 25, *Falkner-street*.
- Nov. 4, 1861 Philip, Thomas D., 49, *South Castle-street*, and 47, *Prospect-vale, Fairfield*.
- Dec. 28, 1846 Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Chairman of the Library and Museum Committee, 11, *Dale-street* and *Sandy-knowe, Wavertree*. PRESIDENT.
- April 30, 1866 Praag, Rev. James, 29, *Mount-street*.
- Feb. 6, 1864 Prange, F., *Royal Bank Buildings, Dale-street*, and 2, *Grove-park, Lodge-lane*.
- Jan. 22, 1866 Raffles, William Winter, 54, *Brown's Buildings*, and *Sunnyside, Prince's-park*.
- April 7, 1862 Rankin, Robert, Chairman of the Dock Board, 55, *South John Street*, and *Brombro' Hall, Cheshire*.
- †Mar. 13, 1812 Rathbone, William, 21, *Water-street*, and *Greenbank, Wavertree*.
- Nov. 12, 1860 Rathbone, Philip H., 4, *Water-street*, and *Greenbank, cottage, Wavertree*.
- Mar. 24, 1862 Rathbone, Richard Reynolds, 21, *Water-street*, and *Laurel Bank, St. Michael's-road*.
- \*Jan. 7, 1856 Rawlins, Charles Edward, jun., 23, *Cable-street*, and 1, *Windermere-terrace, Prince's Park*.
- \*Nov. 17, 1851 Redish, Joseph Carter, 18, *Chapel-street*, and 15, *Sandon-street*. HON. SECRETARY.
- Nov. 2, 1840 Robberds, Rev. John, B.A., 58, *High Park-street*.

- Jan. 25, 1864 Roberts, F.T., M.B., B.Sc. London, M.R.C.S., *Northern Hospital*.
- Feb. 9, 1863 Ronald, Lionel K., 19, *Dale-street*, and *Broad Green*.
- April 18, 1854 Rowe, James, 16, *South Castle-street*, and 51, *Shaw-street*.
- Feb. 6, 1865 Rowlandson, William, jun., *Vauxhall Foundry*.
- Feb. 20, 1865 Samuel, Albert H., 52, *Hanover-street*, and *Canning-terrace*, *Upper Parliament-street*.
- April 16, 1866 Samuel, Charles S., 14, *Canning-street*.
- April 7, 1862 Samuel, Harry S., 11, *Orange-court*, and 2, *Canning-street*.
- Nov. 13, 1865 Samuelson, Edward, 54, *Hanover-street*, and *Huyton*.
- Jan. 11, 1864 Samuelson, James, 18, *Dale-street*, and *New Brighton*.
- March 19, 1866 Sephton, Rev. John, M.A., *Liverpool Institute*.
- Nov. 28, 1864 Scott, Rev. Edward, *Isle of Man*.
- Nov. 16, 1863 Sheldon, E. M., M.R.C.S., 256, *Vauxhall-road*.
- Nov. 2, 1863 Skillicorn, John E., *Whitley-terrace*, 206, *Walton-road*.
- Nov. 7, 1864 Skinner, Thomas, M.D. Edin., 1, *St. James's Road*.
- \*April 21, 1862 Smith, James, *Barkeley House*, *Seaforth*, and 7, *Water-Street*.
- †Mar. 13, 1812 Smith, James Houlbroke, 28, *Rodney-street*, and *Greenhill*, *Allerton*.
- Feb. 23, 1863 Smith, J. Simm, *Royal Insurance Office*, *Dale-street*.
- Feb. 24, 1862 Snape, Joseph, Lecturer on Dental Surgery, *Royal Infirmary School of Medicine*, 75, *Rodney-street*.
- Nov. 12, 1860 Spence, Charles, 4, *Oldhall-street*.
- Feb. 10, 1862 Spence, James, 5, *Fenwick-st.*, and 10, *Abercromby-sq.*
- Nov. 27, 1865 Spola, Luigi, LL.D., 1, *Lully-Street*, *Grove-street*.
- Jan. 22, 1866 St. Clair, Wm., 4, *Trafalgar-road*, *North Egremont*.
- Dec. 14, 1857 Steele, Robert Topham, 4, *Water-street*, and *Wavertree*.
- Jan. 9, 1865 Stewart, Robert E., L.D.S., R.C.S., Dental Surgeon *Southern Hospital*, and *Liverpool Dental Hospital*, 13, *Rodney-street*.
- Oct. 18, 1858 Stuart, Richard, 10, *Exchange-street East*, and *Brooklyn Villa*, *Breeze-hill*, *Walton*.
- \*Feb. 19, 1855 Taylor, John Stopford, M.D. Aberd., F.R.G.S., 1, *Springfield*, *St. Anne-street*.
- Jan. 23, 1843 Taylor, Robert Hibbert, M.D. Edin., L.R.C.S. Ed., Lect. on Ophthalmic Medicine, *Royal Infirmary School of Medicine*, 1, *Percy-street*.

- Jan. 8, 1866 Thomson, James, 370, *Mill-street, Toxteth Park.*
- Dec. 11, 1854 Thompson, Samuel H., *Thingwall Hall, Knotty Ash.*
- Nov. 17, 1850 Tinling, Chas., 44, *Cable-street*, and 34, *Onslow-road, Elm-park.*
- Nov. 26, 1860 Tooke, William H., *Wellington-street, Waterloo.*
- Dec. 1, 1851 Towson, John Thomas, F.R.G.S., Scientific Examiner, Sailors' Home, 47, *Upper Parliament-street.*
- \*Feb. 19, 1844 Turnbull, James Muter, M.D. Edin., M.R.C.P., Phys. Royal Infirmary, 86, *Rodney-street.*
- Oct. 21, 1861 Unwin, William Andrew, 11, *Rumford-place*, and *Newbie-terrace.*
- Feb. 6, 1865 Vernon, Thomas Holmes, *Woolton.*
- Feb. 6, 1865 Vernon, Walter, *Woolton.*
- Oct. 21, 1844 Vose, James Richard White, M.D. Edin., F.R.C.P., Phys. Royal Infirmary, 5, *Gambier-terrace.*
- Mar. 18, 1861 Walker, Thomas Shadford, M.R.C.S., 30, *Rodney-street.*
- Jan. 27, 1862 Walmsley, Gilbert G., 50, *Lord-street.*
- Jan. 9, 1865 Walthew, William, *Phoenix Chambers*, and *Vine Cottage, Aughton.*
- Dec. 2, 1861 Weightman, William Henry, *Leith Offices, Moorfields*, and *Hapsford-lane, Litherland.*
- Nov. 28, 1864 Weld, Walter, 12, *Castle-st.*, & *Moor-lane, Great Crosby.*
- April 7, 1862 Whittle, Ewing, M.D., Lecturer on Med. Jurisprudence, Royal Inf. Sch. of Med., 65, *Catherine-street.*
- Nov. 2, 1863 Whitty, W. Alfred, "*Daily Post*" Office, and 8, *Catherine-street.*
- April 7, 1862 Willans, Thomas H., 82, *Rodney-street.*
- Mar. 18, 1861 Wood, Geo. S., 20, *Lord-st.*, and *BelleVue-rd.*, *Wavertree.*
- Dec. 14, 1863 Zwilchenbart, Rodolph, jun., *Queen Insurance Buildings*, and 26, *Bedford-street South.*



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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N. S., vol. 1, part 2 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. 28, part 2, .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Journal of the Linnean Society, Botany, vol. 9, nos. 33-34 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 34 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 9, nos. 3 and 4 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Sir R. Murchison's Address to the Royal Geo- graphical Society, May, 1865 . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>	
Proceedings of the Zoological Society, 1864, 8 numbers . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, nos. 82 and 83 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 25, nos. 5-8 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Dublin, vol. 4, part 2 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>	
Proceedings of the Geologists' Association, vol. 1, no. 11 . . . . .	<i>The Association.</i>	
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Journal of the Scottish Meteorological Society, N. S., nos. 6 and 7 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Historic Society, N. S., vol. 4	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, for 1864, 5 nos. . . . .	<i>The Academy.</i>
Canadian Journal of Industry, N. S., nos. 56-58	<i>Canadian Institute.</i>
Catalogue of the American Philosophical Society's	
Library, part 1 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Franklin Institute, nos. 469-474,	<i>The Institute.</i>
Report of the Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club, 1864-5 . . . . .	<i>The Club.</i>
Proceedings of the Liverpool Geological Society, 1864-5 . . . . .	<i>The Society,</i>
Ninth Annual Report of the Birkenhead Free Public Library . . . . .	<i>The Committee.</i>
Proceedings of the Liverpool Philomathic Society, vol. 10 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Report of the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society for 1865 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
American Geographical and Statistical Society	<i>The Society.</i>
Mittheilungen der Kaiserlichen, K. Gesellschaft von Wien, 1863-64, 2 parts . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Correspondenzenblatt des Vereins für Naturkunde, zur Presburg, 1863 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Memorie Storie Politiche sul' Antichi Greci e Romani, de Christ. Negri. . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo—Classe di Lettere, vol. 10, fasc. 1; Classe di Scienze Mathematiche, vol. 10, fasc. 1 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, May to October	<i>The Society.</i>

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Proceedings of the Boston Natural History Society, vols. 3, 4, 5, 6, and part of 7 and 9	<i>The Society.</i>
Boston Journal of Natural History, vol. 4, parts 3 and 4, vols. 5 and 6 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
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Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History, of New York, vol. 8, nos. 2 and 3 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Report of the British Association, Bath, 1864, Dr. Inman.	<i>Dr. Inman.</i>
Journal of the Linnæan Society, no. 35 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Statistical Society, September, 1865	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 9, no. 6 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the British Meteorological Society, vol. 2, no. 20 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
The Anthropological Review, No. 11 . . . . .	<i>The Editor.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
OCTOBER 30th.	
Journal of the Chemical Society, sec. 2, vol. 3 (part) . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Nos. 41-2 . . . . .	<i>The Institution.</i>
Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 25, no. 9 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>



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Journal of the Society of Arts, 2 nos.	<i>The Society.</i>

## NOVEMBER 18th.

Report of the Manchester Scientific Students' Association, 1864	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Scottish Meteorological Society, October, 1865	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, 2 Nos.	<i>The Society.</i>
Patent Office Report, Washington, 2 vols., 1862	<i>Patent Office, Washington.</i>

## NOVEMBER 27th.

Proceedings of the British Meteorological Society	<i>The Society.</i>
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. 21, Part 4	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Chemical Society, Oct., 1865	<i>The Society.</i>
Transactions of the Botanical Society, vol. 8, part 2	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts	<i>The Society.</i>

## DECEMBER 11th.

Greenwich Observations, 1863, and Paramatta Catalogue of 7,385 Stars	<i>The Astronomer Royal.</i>
Proceedings of the Birkenhead Literary and Scientific Society, 1864-5	<i>The Society.</i>
Seventeenth Annual Report of the Royal Free Library, &c., of Salford	<i>The Committee.</i>
Thirty-second Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, two numbers	<i>The Society.</i>
Report of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, 1865	<i>The Society.</i>
Canadian Journal of Industry, no. 69	<i>Canadian Institute.</i>
Journal of the Franklin Institute, nos. 477-8	<i>The Institute.</i>

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Journal of the Chymical Society, Nov., 1865	<i>The Society.</i>
Medico-chirurgical Transactions, vol. 48	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Linnæan Society, Zoology, nos. 81 and 82	<i>The Society.</i>
1866,	
JANUARY 8th.	
Proceedings of the Zoological Society, 1890-1-49	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 26, no. 1	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 10, no. 1	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 14, no. 78.	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of Liverpool Polytechnic Society, 28th session, 9th meeting	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of Society of Arts, vol. 14, nos. 682, 684-5	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 7, 1857-1861, vol. 8, 1861-1864, vol. 9, part 1	<i>The Academy.</i>
Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 24, Science, parts 4 and 6, Polite Litera- ture, part 2, Antiquities, parts 2-4	<i>The Society.</i>
Observations on the Functions of the Liver, by Robert M'Donnell, M. D.	<i>The Author.</i>
JANUARY 22nd.	
Journal of the Chemical Society, series 2, vol. 3	<i>The Society.</i>
Transactions of the Plymouth Institution, 1864-5	<i>The Institute.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 14, no. 79	<i>The Society.</i>
Popular Magazine of Anthropology, No. 1	<i>The Editor.</i>
Proceedings of the British Meteorological Society, vol. 3, No. 21	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. 28, part 4	<i>The Society.</i>
Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 26, No. 2.	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, no. 686, vol. 14	<i>The Society.</i>

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Report of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
An essay, entitled "Die Entstehung der Servianischen Verfassung," by Dr. Ihne, formerly President of the Society . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>

## FEBRUARY 5th.

Journal of the Franklin Institute, 479, 480	<i>The Institute.</i>
Canadian Journal of Industry, no. 60, new series	<i>Canadian Institute.</i>
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Scotland, vol. 1, part 1 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Society, no. 80 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Transactions of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, vol. 7, part 1 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Thirteenth Annual Report of the Free Public Museum, Liverpool . . . . .	<i>The Committee.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers . . . . .	<i>The Institute.</i>

## FEBRUARY 19th.

Journal of the Linnean Society, vol. 9, no. 96 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Scottish Meteorological Society, no. 9 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. 14, nos. 690-1	<i>The Society.</i>
Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 26, no. 3 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>

## MARCH 9th.

Manchester Free Public Library Catalogue	<i>The Committee.</i>
Manifesto of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chili, on the present war between the Republic and Spain . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>
Theory of Parallels, by M. Ryan . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>
Journal of Chemical Society, sec. 2, vol. 4 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>

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Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 26, no. 4 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 15, no. 81	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. 10, no. 2 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Proceedings of the Meteorological Society, vol. 8, no. 22 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of Society of Arts, vol. 14, Nos. 692-8 .	<i>The Society.</i>

## MARCH 19th.

Transactions of the Chymists Association, 1864-5	<i>The Association.</i>
Journal of the Chemical Society, series 2, vol 4 .	<i>The Society.</i>
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. 22, no. 85 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
List of the Geological Society, 1865 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. 14, nos. 694-5	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Liverpool Polytechnic Society, 29th Session, 3rd meeting . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Official Catalogue, Kingdom of Italy, Dublin International Exhibition, 1865 . . . . .	<i>The Committee.</i>
Universal Resources of Central Italy . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>

## APRIL 2nd.

Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. 14, nos. 696-7	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of Royal Dublin Society, no. 84, Dec., 1865 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Schriften der Königlichen Physikalisch-Ökonomischen Gesellschaft yn Königsberg, 2 vols. .	<i>The Society.</i>
On the Origin of certain Christian and other Names, by Dr. Inman, 3 copies . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>
Natural History Transactions of Northumberland and Durham . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>

## APRIL 16th.

Toronto Newspaper . . . . .	<i>Dr. Hume.</i>
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Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 15, no. 82	<i>The Society.</i>
Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art, no. 61 . . . . .	<i>Canadian Institute.</i>
Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. 26, no. 5 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Geological and Natural History Repertory, no. 10	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 22, vol. 7 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of Liverpool Polytechnic Society, 29th session, 3rd meeting . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. 14, nos. 698-9	<i>The Society.</i>
On taking Cold a Cause of Disease, by Dr. Hayward . . . . .	<i>The Author.</i>
APRIL 30th.	
Report of the Proceedings of the London Indian Society, from Dec. 19, 1855, to Jan. 19, 1866	<i>The Society.</i>
Journal of the Society of Arts, Nos. 700 and 701, vol. xiv. . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>
Amtlicher Bericht über die Neun und Dreissigste Versammlung Deutscher Naturforscher und Aerzte, in Giessen, im Sept., 1864 . . . . .	<i>The Society.</i>

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
LIVERPOOL  
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

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ANNUAL MEETING.—FIFTY-FIFTH SESSION.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 2nd, 1865.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The President congratulated the Society upon commencing their Fifty-fifth Session, and expressed a hope that it might be as well attended and as productive as the preceding one. He then called upon the Honorary Secretary, who read the following

REPORT.

The general steady progress of the Literary and Philosophical Society has continued unimpeded during the past session, and in most, if not in all, respects there has been an advance upon previous years. The attendance at the meetings has been very full, and has increased in a manner which proves the growing interest taken in its proceedings by a large number of members; while the discussions which have followed the reading of papers and communications have not fallen short in animation of those which characterised the preceding sessions.

Twenty-eight new members have been elected into the society during the past year—a number which not only keeps up the list by supplying the loss from our ranks by resignation, removal, or death, but also leaves a balance in favour of the permanent increase of our numbers. At the end of last session the numbers stood thus:—Ordinary members 189 (of whom 27 were life members); honorary members, 36; and associates, 7. Of these we have lost by resignation 10, by removal 7, and by death 8, two of whom were life members; so that our present effective strength is 197 ordinary members (of whom 25 are life members). Two honorary members and five associates have been added to our list, increasing them respectively to 38 and 12, and making a grand total of 247 members of all classes.

The accounts, which will be laid before you by your Treasurer, are of a very satisfactory character. The increase in our numbers is accompanied by a corresponding increase in our funds; and our yearly income is amply sufficient to carry on the current expenses of the Society, although these may include some extraordinary disbursements; while our reserve fund has reached £250, which has been invested in dock bonds. Moreover, the subscriptions have been well gathered in, leaving fewer arrears than usual. The expenses of the past year include several extra payments, which your Council have considered themselves justified in incurring in the present prosperous state of the Society's finances, such as the setting up of bookcases, and the preparation and printing of a catalogue of the Society's volumes.

The two life members of whom death has deprived us since the last annual meeting deserve some remark, inasmuch as both had been at one time active members, and held responsible offices in the society, viz., Mr. E. Heath and Dr. Dickinson. Mr. Heath was a native of Durham, and removed to Liverpool in the year 1834, where he became a successful

merchant in the New Orleans trade. He was a liberal supporter of the local charitable institutions, and especially of the Industrial Ragged Schools, formerly in Soho Street, and now in Everton. In 1855 he was President of the Chamber of Commerce, and became also a magistrate of the borough. He joined the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1842, and in 1849 he was elected treasurer, which office he filled until 1853, but failing health had for some time past rendered him incapable of attending the meetings. He died December 3, 1864.

Dr. Dickinson came of an old Cumberland family, and was born at Lampleigh, near Whitehaven. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, as M.D. in 1843, and became a very successful practitioner of physic in Liverpool. He was formerly physician to the Liverpool Dispensaries, and afterwards to the Royal Infirmary. Combining with his medical attainments a strong taste for natural history, he was elected a Fellow of the Linnæan Society in 1839, and on commencing his career in Liverpool he was appointed lecturer on botany at the Medical School, a post which he occupied for some years, afterwards exchanging it for medical jurisprudence, and ultimately for the chair of medicine. About the time of the meeting of the British Association in Liverpool, in 1854, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and he was also a member of the Royal Irish Academy; and in 1859 the Royal College of Physicians added him to their list of Fellows. He became a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1840, and in 1852 he was raised to the presidential chair, which he filled three years. Of late years, failing health obliged him to relinquish some of the more active duties of his profession, and in 1857 he spent the winter in Egypt, with a view to re-establish his health. In this he only partially succeeded, but unfortunately lost his wife on the journey. In 1859



he resigned his post of physician to the Royal Infirmary, and was appointed consulting physician, and although for a time he resumed practice, he ultimately succumbed, and died at Waterloo in July last. Dr. Dickinson accumulated a very valuable library of works on natural history, more particularly on botany, which he was always ready to place at the disposal of students; and his urbanity and kindness of disposition will long be remembered by many who had occasion to avail themselves of his liberality. He read several papers before the Society, but his chief undertaking was an edition of the "Flora of Liverpool," upon the basis of Hall's Flora, which was published by the Literary and Philosophical Society as an appendix to the volume of Proceedings for the year 1850-51 (No. 6).

An experiment has been tried of late, of holding fortnightly social meetings, alternately with the regular meetings of the Society, at the houses of various members of the Society who were willing to receive the members generally. On such occasions a general invitation has been issued from the chair, and it was distinctly understood, by the gentlemen at whose houses the receptions were to take place, that their hospitality was to be of a simple and inexpensive kind, in order that others might not be deterred from following their example. The result of this experiment was, that several very interesting and agreeable evenings were passed by those members who availed themselves of the invitation, whose numbers were, however, rather limited. It is considered, however, that sufficient encouragement has been given to the trial to warrant its continuance, and it is hoped that during the coming session members will be found both to give and accept similar invitations, by which means the Society may become more thoroughly united as a body, by adding the advantages of social intercourse to those already enjoyed by it.

The Annual Dinner of the Society was held at Childwall Abbey, on the 25th of May. The number of members present fell short of that of previous years—a circumstance which may be partly attributed to carelessness in the proper delivery of the circulars announcing the meeting. The members present, however, did not fail to make the gathering an agreeable one.

The disastrous fire which recently occurred at the printing establishment of Mr. Marples entirely destroyed the stock of the Proceedings for the past Session, which were far advanced towards completion. It is fortunate, however, that a complete copy of the volume, as far as printed, is in the hands of the Secretary, so that the labours of the Session will not be irretrievably lost. These sheets have been again placed in the hands of Mr. Marples, and some delay in their final publication will, it is hoped, be the only inconvenience which the Society will suffer from the fire in question. The Council would take this opportunity of expressing their sympathy with Mr. Marples, as a member of the Society, for the great loss and inconvenience he has suffered in consequence of this unfortunate event.

The volume for this Session would hardly have reached the average size had not the valuable Paper of Dr. Ginsburg, on the Kabbalah, been transferred to it from the previous year. That Paper should have appeared in the volume issued during the recess, but the great labour of its production would not allow of its being sooner finished. It was thought desirable that this volume should not be longer delayed, but that the Paper should be appended to the succeeding one. Hence the last volume was somewhat small, while that for the past Session will be larger than usual. Fortunately, the Paper in question, which is now completed, escaped the fire from the circumstance of its not having been transferred to Mr. Marples's office.

In concluding this Report, the Council would urge upon the members of the Society the necessity of individual as well as of united exertion. The Papers during the last Session were not so numerous as might have been desired, and it is thought that this was partially owing to the belief that Papers were already too numerous. This, however, is an error, and the Secretary would be able to effect arrangements for many more Papers if they were forthcoming, provided he had sufficient notice of them. Communications, however brief, will be welcomed; but members reading such Papers or making such communications will greatly facilitate the business of the Secretary by giving him timely notice of the subject, and the most convenient evening for bringing them forward.

In accordance with Law 36, you will be called upon to elect five gentlemen upon the Council who were not upon that of the preceding year, and the retiring Council recommend that the following be selected, viz.—Francis Archer, Jun., B.A. Cantab., Robert D. Holt, Albert J. Mott, James Birchall, Thomas Balman, M.D.

(Signed)

J. A. PICTON, President.

CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD, Hon. Sec.

It was moved by Dr. GINSBURG, seconded by the Rev. JOSHUA JONES, and resolved, "That the Report now read be adopted."

The Treasurer then presented his Balance-sheet, which exhibited a reserve of £250, and a balance of £21 of receipts over the expenditure of the past year.

It was moved by Mr. W. H. WEIGHTMAN, seconded by Mr. F. ARCHER, Jun., and resolved, "That the accounts now presented, and audited by Messrs. Unwin and Jones, be passed."

The Society next proceeded to ballot for a new Council and Officers, and first for five new members of Council to replace five who retire annually, when the following were elected :—Mr. F. Archer, jun., B.A., Mr. R. D. Holt, Mr. A. J. Mott, Mr. James Birchall, and Dr. Balman. Next, for nine other members of Council, namely—Dr. Ginsburg, Dr. Nevins, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Byerley, Dr. Collingwood, Rev. H. H. Higgins, Rev. Joshua Jones, Mr. A. Higginson, and Rev. W. Banister. Of these, the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, Dr. Nevins, and Dr. Edwards were elected Vice-Presidents; Mr. Byerley, Treasurer; and Dr. Collingwood, Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Robinson Kendal was balloted for, and duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The Associates of the Society were re-elected, upon the recommendation of the Council.

A large number of donations were laid upon the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

It was decided, after some discussion, that, the Society having declined to vote any money from its funds to the Gallery of Inventions and Science, it could not continue to send delegates to that institution.

Dr. Collingwood exhibited and explained a very complete set of portions of the Atlantic Cable, mounted as a trophy, and the property of Captain Anderson, of the Great Eastern, which may be seen at the Free Public Library.

Some discussion arose as to the probability of success in the attempt which will be made to raise the broken end of the cable next summer.

The Society then adjourned.

## FIRST ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 16th, 1865.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

The resignations were received and accepted of the following ordinary members:—

Messrs. John Andrew, E. Harvey, J. J. Stitt, John Weightman, W. H. Grimmer, Rev. N. Loraine, Rev. H. J. Hindley, and Dr. Scholfield.

Mr. KIRKBY described the appearance presented by Faye's comet, which he had lately observed.

Dr. NEVINS exhibited a chemical novelty which has lately appeared in Paris, and has excited considerable interest there, called by the fanciful name of "Pharaoh's Serpents." They consist of a small cone, about the size of an ordinary aromatic pastile, and are made by folding tinfoil into a cone, and filling it with sulpho-cyanide of mercury. When a burning taper is applied to the apex of the cone the tinfoil melts, and the powder slowly takes fire, and burns at the rate of a common pastile. But instead of being dissipated in a thin, almost invisible vapour, the fumes which arise from it assume a solid form of extreme lightness, which is very small at first as it issues from the point of the cone, and gradually increases in diameter as the cone burns down, until at last it possesses the thickness of a person's finger. As the solid fume escapes it twists and coils in various directions, as it is forced through the apex of the tinfoil covering, and

produces at length a solid body, eighteen inches or two feet in length, of a yellow colour externally, with a tapering end like the tail of a serpent, and a thicker body and head, and coiled so as closely to resemble this animal in appearance. The chemical changes that take place are somewhat complicated. The mercury is separated by the heat, and is dissipated in vapour, whilst the sulphur takes fire and burns with its ordinary pale blue flame, producing its characteristic unpleasant odour. The cyanogen, which is the remaining ingredient, is entirely decomposed, and is converted into a compound of carbon and nitrogen ( $C_{18} N_{18}$ ), of the name of mellon, or mellone. This is solid, and extremely light, and constitutes the essential bulk of the serpent, but at the same time that it is formed from the cyanogen some surplus carbon is also set free. This mechanically mixes with the mellone, and imparts a black colour to what would otherwise be a dull yellow. The body of the serpent is therefore black, but the apparent skin is yellow, and this external colour is derived from the burning tinfoil. The heat of the combustion causes the thin tin to burn, and form yellow oxide of tin, better known as polishing putty, and as the mercurial compound and the tin covering happen to burn at the same rate, the black smoke of mellone and carbon is covered by a thin layer of yellow oxide of tin as fast as it is formed, and the result is the curious phenomenon described. It is said that a child of noble birth lately swallowed one of the cones on the supposition of its being a *bon-bon*, and the paternal Government of France has it, therefore, under consideration, whether to allow these curiosities still to be made, as the compound employed is a poisonous one.

Mr. HIGGINSON drew the attention of the Society to an extract from the *Scientific Review*, on the "Ventilation of Sewers," stating that a French chemist proposed to derive

from the sewers a supply of air to the furnaces of factories, thus destroying their noxious gases by combustion and supplying fresh air to the sewers; with the assertion that the plan was in use already on a small scale. Mr. Higginson was much pleased to hear such an announcement, as he had himself, many years ago, urged the very same thing before this Society, and again, in 1858, before the Social Science Association, at their meeting in Liverpool. The arguments used by him on those occasions were to the effect that, in a tidal town especially, there must be a great escape of air from the sewers, for the influx of the tide acting like a piston forced up the sewers twice a day, expelling bad air into the streets and houses wherever openings were not trapped, and thus spreading seeds of disease. Mr. Higginson believed that the moist air from the sewers would even be of benefit to the furnace fires, and that, in such towns as Liverpool, Dublin, Swansea, London, &c., where the sewer nuisance was an acknowledged fact, an advantage might be gained to the health of the community by some such plan. At the present time, when water-closets are being forced more and more into use, no mere flushing of the sewers can keep their atmosphere pure, or prevent its escape into the streets and houses, to the detriment of the susceptible. Mr. Higginson argued that the main sewers along the line of the docks should be connected with the furnaces, and that a very moderate amount of constant action would be sufficient to effect the object.

A Paper was then read by Mr. J. McFARLANE GRAY, "On the Geometry of Wyllie and Gray's Patent Valve Motions." Mr. Gray began with the valve motion of his patent steam riveter. This he explained by drawings, and by exhibiting one of these machines. The working of this valve illustrates in a remarkable manner the high velocity of steam. The inlet to the piston of the slide valve is open for only the

three-hundredth part of a second, yet that infinitesimal portion of time is sufficient for the admission of sufficient steam to move the valve. Having the machine before the meeting, he took the opportunity of explaining the other parts of the apparatus, and pointed out the mathematical features, in the relations between time, velocity, and space, in the motions of the hammer piston of the machine. He then described the valve motions of oscillating engines as generally constructed, and introduced a new form of valve motion for oscillating engines, for reversing and for working expansively. The principle of its action was explained by geometrical diagrams. The communication also included a new expansion link, and a new arrangement of toothed gearing for valve motions.

A brief discussion followed the reading of this Paper, after which the Society adjourned.

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## SECOND ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, October 30th, 1865.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS, VICE-PRESIDENT,  
in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS drew attention to the exceptional character of the past season, and suggested the advantage of putting on record any peculiar features in the appearance of animals and plants which may have been noticed by members.

Mr. J. McFARLANE GRAY described the mode of compressing peat, which he had witnessed in Ireland.



Dr. TURNBULL exhibited some specimens of a phosphoretic mineral, lately found in North Wales, in the lower Silurian strata, and which was found useful in the manufacture of artificial manures.

A paper was then read

### ON ASSOCIATED ANIMALS,

By DR. COLLINGWOOD, Honorary Secretary.

This paper was copiously illustrated with specimens and figures, and at its conclusion a short discussion thereon took place, after which the Society adjourned.

### THIRD ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 13th, 1865.

The Rev. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D., VICE-PRESIDENT,  
in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Samuelson and Dr. Hayward were balloted for, and duly elected ordinary members.

Captain Walker, of the ship "Trenton," was recommended by the Council for election as an Associate.

The resignation of Mr. H. Fischer was received and accepted.

Mr. T. J. MOORE exhibited a number of marine specimens recently added to the Derby Museum; a collection of marine specimens from the China seas, Banka Straits, &c., made by Captain Berry, ship "Richard Cobden," Associate of the Society, who was present at

the meeting. Among them were examples of four species of comatula, three species of sea-snakes, a very fine scabbard fish (*Gempylus?*), and several other rare and interesting forms. Also, young living specimens of a leathery turtle (*Platypeltis Ferox*), and of two species of terrapins (*Emys Picta* and *Guttata*), presented by the son of Professor Hall, of New York; and a fine specimen of a bony gar-pike (*Lepidosteus*), presented by Mr. J. O. W. Fabert.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS said that much uneasiness was felt in Manchester, under the apprehension that the export trade to India of manufactured Cotton goods was likely to be seriously diminished through the liability of the goods to be damaged by mildew. It was stated in the papers that "certain descriptions of Cotton goods sent to India are adulterated to the extent of about 25 per cent., careful analysis showing about 66½ per cent. of Cotton, 13 of mineral matter, 14 of flour, and 6½ of water, while a good article should contain at least 90 per cent. of Cotton." Now, from information received in Manchester, Mr. Higgins was disposed to think this was not an accurate account of the matter. The adulteration of Cotton goods with size, made chiefly of flour, and with a mineral substance called China clay, had been a very general practice for many years, but the specific charge of liability to become worthless through mildew was, he thought, comparatively recent, and was the result of a further adulteration with salt. Cotton stiffened with size and China clay had a harsh feel, which at once betrayed the adulteration. In order to obviate this, salt was added to preserve a certain degree of moisture in the Cotton goods, which, when thus treated, though extensively adulterated, felt as supple and as mellow as if they were made entirely of Cotton. The consequence of the moisture might have been easily foreseen—a crop of fungi sprung up, the rooting fibres (*mycelium*) of which utterly

destroyed the texture. So that, as it appeared, the original adulteration did not produce the evil, but a further adulteration, added to conceal the first. Mr. Higgins had been asked to propose a remedy, and suggested as the simplest the freer use of Cotton in the manufacture of calicões and similar fabrics; but as he did not understand the exigencies of the case, he would suggest that, if flour size had to be used, the size should be made from flour of the best quality: it was almost certain that inferior flour would be found to be full of the germs of fungi. In the present instance the size, no doubt, supplied the spores of the mildew, and the salt induced the dampness favourable to their germination.

Some remarks were made by other gentlemen, who imagined that the salt alone might have produced the mildew, inasmuch as it did not appear until the salt was added; but Mr. Higgins assured them that this was a most erroneous conclusion, although the salt, no doubt, offered the conditions for the germination of the spores already present.

Mr. TURNER exhibited, in the last number of Gould's *Birds of Asia*, the beautiful drawing of the Zic-Zac (*Pluvianus Ægypticus*), described by him as the bird associated with the crocodile, as exhibited by Dr. Collingwood in connexion with his paper read at their last meeting. He, however, threw discredit upon the reported association.

The following paper was then read.

## ON THE OLD ENGLISH BOROUGH AND ITS INHABITANTS.

By JAMES BIRCHALL,

Late Government Lecturer on History, Training College, York.

In a paper which I had the privilege of reading before the members of this society during the session of 1864-65, I attempted to give some account of the Feudal Peasantry in England, more particularly of the relations which subsisted between them and their lords, and the circumstances which contributed to their subsequent emancipation. This essay is intended to be a sequel to that paper, and it will be my purpose to sketch the characteristic features which marked the condition of the feudal vassals in the towns. I propose, therefore, to trace the origin and early history of an English Borough and its political immunities; to examine the qualifications by which its inhabitants, in their capacity as burghesses, were distinguished from the rural population; and thence to show how charters of incorporation had their origin. Lastly, as the trades' guilds exercised so powerful an influence in every large borough, and formed, at length, an essential part of its internal organisation, I shall briefly review the source and character of these institutions, giving occasional portraits, from contemporary writers, of the most important members of such fraternities, and conclude with a picture of their method of transacting business.

The early history of cities and boroughs, and of the condition of their inhabitants, not only in England, but on the continent generally, is lost in the gloom of ages; but there is little doubt that the greater part of them had their origin

in the time of the Romans, and that they successively passed into the hands of those nations who from time to time established themselves in the various provinces of the Roman Empire. In France, where the peculiar constitution of the borough and its corporate character were developed earlier than in England, there would seem to be sufficient proof that the Roman system of decurions, or communities of free citizens, was the real source of the borough. These communities had the right to elect members to a common council, which was their governing body, and they existed in great numbers in the province of Aquitaine. In other parts of Gaul, those especially which lay contiguous to Germany and the Rhine, or were subjected by the Franks, these Roman communities were considerably modified by an admixture of principles and customs derived from the German system of voluntary societies or guilds; while, in the Rhenish provinces and the Netherlands, it is more than probable that the privileges of citizenship were derived exclusively from the latter source.

Legal antiquaries do not allow of this Roman original of the borough in England; though there is no reason to suppose that the process of change from Roman to Teuton was not the same throughout the whole extent of the Empire. Certainly we have not such detailed and precise accounts of the early history of the borough as exist in France, but we have, nevertheless, many proofs, in the Roman inscriptions which frequently come to light, that our existing municipal customs were undoubtedly in practice among the Romans, and we cannot but infer that our Saxon ancestors derived them from that source. From these inscriptions we learn that the government of all the civitates in Roman Britain was republican in form, that their constitution was free, and their officers were exempt from the control of Imperial officials. The municipality consisted of two classes—the

*plebs* or inhabitants at large, and the *curia* or elective body. The members of this body called *curiales decuriones*, or *senators*, inherited their rank, or in some cases were elected to it—they alone appointed the *duumvir* or chief magistrate, who was chosen annually; and the *principales* who formed the permanent council of the *curia*, and continued in office for fifteen years. To protect themselves against the injustice or tyranny of this governing body, the *plebs* chose the *defensor civitatis*; whose office was similar to that of the Tribune in Rome; and for the same purpose the colleges or guilds of trades elected certain of the senators as their patrons. It is impossible not to recognise in these constitutions of the municipium a distinct resemblance to the customs of the Borough. In the *curia* we perceive the origin of the elective body; the *probi homines* or *boni homines* of the older Saxon records, and the *burgesses* of the medieval borough; the *duumvir* is the *prefect* or *reeve*; and the *principales* are the *aldermen*.

This view of the Roman original of the Borough is further confirmed by the fact that the Municipium was at first a military foundation, whose citizens were veteran soldiers, bound by the privileges they enjoyed to defend their town, and the territory depending upon it, from the attacks of the barbarians, or the revolt of the conquered nation. In the later Roman times, the stronghold thus occupied and defended by its citizen soldiers was called in the Latin "*burgus*"; and the Anglo-Saxon Burgh was in reality nothing more than a hundred, or an assemblage of hundreds, surrounded by a moat, a stockade, or a wall. It was simply an inhabited locality, which had either formerly been occupied by the Romans as one of their Municipia, or had presented peculiar advantages for defence, and which the Saxons having founded, had been invested by them with the forms of the Roman model. For, as Professor Pearson

observes, in his "*Early and Middle Ages*," (ch. vi.) Roman municipal institutions, laws, and mercantile guilds were all transmitted to us, with more or less change, through the stormy Saxon times; Roman local names were preserved by the Saxon conquerors as they found them, and Roman laws formed the basis of the Saxon family system. Another fact which still further corroborates this hypothesis is that our oldest municipal constitutions are found in those towns which actually enjoyed them as Roman Municipia. The Saxons, like the other barbarous nations who established themselves in the provinces of the Empire, made it their chief business to seize the lands, while they left the cities in the hands of the old citizens, because they were indisposed to occupy these from a superstition which led them to believe that houses built by other nations were under the influence of charms and magic. The Roman cities being thus left undisturbed for the most part, we are able to account for the importance and independence which the Boroughs possessed at this very early period. Canterbury we find as early as the year 805 governed by a *prefect* or *reeve*, who is of sufficient wealth and influence as to be able to give lands to the monks; and in the charter confirming this grant, there is a remarkable distinction made between the *villa* or town, and the *civitas* or *municipal body*, such as we might expect in the transmission of the Roman principle to the Saxon people. Rochester, again, derived its Saxon name of Hrofecester from one of its early reeves, named Hrof. The municipal body of Dover also early attained to an important position, which is seen in the account of the quarrel that Eustace, count of Boulogne, the brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor, had with its burgesses, when they resisted his entering their town at the head of an armed force. In 1040 the citizens of Worcester openly defied King Hardicanute to impose a tax on them;

and when he sent his *huscarles* or household soldiers to enforce payment, the inhabitants rose against them and slew them, and thus boldly asserted their right to exemption from extraordinary taxation. When the Danes made their predatory excursions, the towns most conspicuous for making the bravest defences were those in which the old Roman municipalities had longest survived. Such were Exeter, Gloucester, Rochester, Leicester, Bedford, Maldon, York, all of which we find acting as free and independent cities; and if we turn to the records of the city of London, we shall find abundant proof of the view now advocated concerning the Roman original of the old English Borough.

Most of the towns built by the Saxons, and also all the Roman towns, were royal boroughs, owning no superior lord except the king. But after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, other towns gradually arose, chiefly in the vicinity of episcopal sees and abbeys, and they eventually received their municipal privileges at the hands of their ecclesiastical protectors. St. Albans, Dunstable, Beverley were among such towns, some of which were built at the instance of the bishops or abbots, and others given to these ecclesiastical dignitaries by the piously disposed Saxon kings, according to a fashion which then prevailed both in England and France. It is from this circumstance that we find so many medieval boroughs holding their charters from ecclesiastical, and not from lay lords. The privileges of these ecclesiastical boroughs were exactly the same as those of royal burghs, for all boroughs were essentially alike, and we find the burgesses therein claiming exemption from extraordinary taxation equally with those who dwelt on the royal domains. Thus when the Danish king Swegen, then at Gainsborough, demanded a tax from the burgesses of Bury St. Edmunds, they pleaded their immunity from royal taxes; and the monks of St. Edmunds who were their



superior lords took their part, because the taxes of the burgesses belonged to them.

These assertions of independence on the part of the Anglo-Saxon boroughs have been variously interpreted by different writers. Hume, who was ignorant of them, and obsequiously adopted the views of Dr. Brady, whom Charles II. and his brother employed to write down the privileges of the burgesses, contemptuously places the municipal towns in the lowest state of degradation; Merewether, in his *History of Corporations*, zealous for them as his clients, finds them in the complete enjoyment of every privilege from the very earliest periods; Palgrave, as heavily weighted with legal bias, is not far behind in his too favourable estimation of them; while Hallam, the most calm and unprejudiced of constitutional or historical writers, takes a more moderate view, and considers the burgesses in the Saxon period not to have been so exclusively in the possession of privileges as the above two writers would suppose. From these conflicting opinions, I have ventured to draw such conclusions as here follow.

Whatever was the actual nature of the internal government of the borough, and of the immunities of its burgesses, it was sufficient to distinguish them from the ceorls or rustic population, though it did not make them free according to our estimation. Equally with the "landwardmen" the burgesses lived under the protection of the lord in whose township or manor they were situated, although in many instances it so happened that a burgess owed suit in the court of the borough wherein he resided, while he paid his customs or rents to another lord, whose manor did not comprise his borough. This will be frequently illustrated in the course of the paper. The lord held the town in his demesne, and was the legal proprietor of the soil and the tenements.

The burgesses, on the other hand, were not destitute of a certain estate in their possessions, perhaps being in a condition corresponding to that of the copyholders in the later Plantagenet period. In frequent instances they could transmit their tenements to their heirs, or even alienate them to a stranger. Such burgesses as had this special privilege of inheritance were men of considerable wealth and influence, holding over their own property in the borough the enviable jurisdiction of *sac* and *soc*, and transmitting it to their heirs, or to the persons who purchased their possessions. These burgesses were probably aldermen; and in Stamford and Lincoln, two of the most important of the Danish boroughs, there were, in Edward the Confessor's reign, twelve such men in each. They were the *lagemen* or jurymen of the borough—the *chief pledges*—and, at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, two of the Lincoln burgesses were still alive and in possession; of five, the sons were in possession; and the rights of the remaining five were held by five persons, who were either the heirs or the purchasers of the property. We find the same peculiar privileges existing in London, where both secular and ecclesiastical landholders possessed their exclusive sokes, or jurisdictions: the prior of the Holy Trinity, for instance, ranking as alderman of the ward of Portsoken, and holding a regular wardmote; and parts of the ward of Farringdon being held as a territorial franchise, in a similar manner, by a family of that name, even so late as the thirteenth century.

These exclusive sokes, the fruits of that inveterate passion for independent action and self-government which the Saxons cherished till it degenerated into a political vice, only very gradually gave way to the power of the citizens; there being nearly thirty of them in the reign of Henry III., and upwards of twenty in the reign of his son.

In other instances the burgesses possessed common property, belonging to a sort of guild or corporation; and in other boroughs, again, they had a municipal administration by magistrates of their own choice. Among other advantages also, denied to their equals in the country, they possessed the benefit of a market for the sale of their wares and merchandise; they had their hall or Hanse-house (*hus-thing*) in which they met and deliberated; they exercised the power of enacting By or Borough laws, for the government and improvement of the borough; and they possessed, by lease or purchase, houses, pasture and forest lands, for the common use and benefit of the whole body politic. In return for these peculiar favours, the burgesses paid to the lord an annual rent, each of them individually, and certain determinate dues and customs:—

*Pontage*, for crossing the bridge he had built;

*Passage*, for the protection he afforded their traders while passing through his manor;

*Stallage*, for the right to erect a booth or stall in the market; and

*Lastage*, for every load and cargo.

But as the soil was his and the burgesses were his vassals, the lord did not limit his demands to these rents and dues—he exacted *tallages* from the townsmen as often as he could; not from the whole body collectively, but from each man individually. In the Saxon times the king received his *rates* by his receiver, called in Domesday Book the *præpositus regis*, from each particular person from whom they were due, individually, and in each individual case. In these royal boroughs the numbers of burgesses paying rates are enumerated, and the *præpositus regis*, or king's reeve, is frequently mentioned, as at Dover, Lewes, Guildford. In very many boroughs the burgesses had endeavoured to emancipate themselves from the extortion of the king's

collecting officer, who was not under their own jurisdiction, by compounding for the king's taxes by the yearly payment of a certain sum of money. Such was the case with Dorchester, Bridport, Wareham, Shaftesbury, Hertford, and other places. The men of Dover had thus agreed to furnish the king yearly with 20 ships, manned with 21 sailors each, during 15 days, in return for the privilege of exercising over themselves the jurisdiction of *sac* and *soc*. The men of Oxford paid £20 a year and a certain quantity of honey in lieu of all customs; the citizens of Worcester had bought up every burden except the land rent; the burgesses of Cambridge lent the sheriff their ploughs, and the men of Warwick paid in honey and corn. Hereford was a city on the royal domain, and there the king had his own mint and coiners; no smith was allowed to make his nails of any other iron than that which came from the royal mines in Dean Forest; and the goodwife could not brew her ale without paying tenpence to the king for a license. Chester was a royal port, and was subject to very stringent regulations with regard to the shipping which traded with it. Sometimes, however, boroughs were excused from these payments; for we read in the Pipe Rolls of the reign of Stephen that Hertford, Tamworth, Dorchester, and also individual burgesses in other boroughs, were freed from payment on account of poverty; and Durham was forgiven one half its customs, because of the partial destruction of the city by fire.

This conversion of the individual tributes of the burgesses into a yearly or perpetual rent for the whole borough was a very necessary safeguard, especially for the smaller towns, because the king generally let these out to farm to some one who paid him a certain sum, and made as much out of it as he could—a transaction which subjected the burgesses to every kind of oppression, and yet placed them beyond the

protection of their lord. This device was more generally adopted by the early Norman kings than by their Saxon predecessors, and it was continued until the reign of Henry II., when the towns obtained charters, and purchased the farm of the king's dues for ever. The burgesses were then regarded as holding their land and houses by *Burgage Tenure*, a species of *Free Socage*; and the borough was said to be *affirmed*, or *let in Fee Farm*, to the burgesses and their heirs for ever. The lord thus divested himself of his right of property in the town and its inhabitants; he retained no more than his lordship over them, and the inheritance of the annual rent, which he might recover by distress. The charters which the burgesses purchased confirmed to them no more than their old rights and privileges, which their Saxon forefathers had enjoyed; they granted to them nothing new, but constituted a powerful protection in law against the numerous vexations and infringements of their privileges which they had been forced to endure from the Conquest to that time. They furthermore enabled them to recover many of the other privileges, which the more important boroughs had possessed in the happier days preceding the Norman subjection. The burgesses after this recovered their ancient exemption from tolls on rivers and in markets; they obtained many commercial franchises; they were released from the duty of appearing in the lord's Court Leet once a year as his vassals; the lord gave up his right of appointing a constable or bailiff over them, and the Borough finally assumed all those special legal characteristics which distinguished its burgesses from the rest of the Feudal vassals. The most important, however, of all the advantages which thus accrued to the boroughs, in consequence of their being let in fee farm to the burgesses, was that which ultimately gave them the right to be represented in the national legislature. The substitution of an annual sum,

assessed upon the burgesses by their own magistrates, for a capitation tax levied by the king's officers and estimated at the royal discretion, was really a grant of the right of self-taxation. There is no doubt that the sovereigns found this expedient more profitable for their exchequers, as otherwise they would not have continued it, and allowed it to become established by usage. It being also found more convenient to assemble the deputies of the boroughs and consult with them about a common assessment for all, than to entrust the privilege to the discordant judgment of so many separate communities, the grand custom was begun of calling upon the burgesses to send representatives to parliament, to agree with the king concerning the amount of the subsidies they were prepared to give. Notably this privilege was first called into existence by the memorable act of Simon de Montfort; but it had previously been exercised at irregular intervals by those towns and boroughs which were of greatest value to the Crown, and therefore which made the most rapid progress towards complete emancipation—municipal and constitutional. What qualifications entitled the inhabitant of a borough, in his capacity of burgess, to the parliamentary electoral franchise thus conceded, will be presently examined, as, having thus far reviewed the progress of the borough in its external relations, I shall now proceed to the consideration of its internal government, and municipal organisation.

The German *bürg* and the Dutch *borg* signify a pledge or bail, from which the word borough means that assemblage of inhabitants in one vill, tything, or collection of tythings, mutually responsible at the same court for each other's good conduct. The whole scheme of Saxon law, as is well known, was based upon the pledge or surety; every man, whether bond or free, whether a native or mere sojourner, being

placed under this guarantee—freemen for themselves and for each other; the host for his guest; the lord for his villeins. For this purpose, every man was compelled to locate and enrol himself in that political division wherein he was born—the upland freemen in the hundred or shire, and the burgesses in the borough. Within these respective divisions every inhabitant, according to his situation and privileges, was bound to make himself known to his fellow-countrymen, by appearing at the court of the presiding officer of his district, and there presenting his pledge, undertaking such municipal duties as devolved upon him, and rendering that suit and service to his lord or superior which his circumstances demanded. Until these duties were fulfilled, no freeman was accounted *law-worthy*, and the neglect of them after the age of twelve years was punishable by a fine.

The inhabitants of the borough, being cut off from the shire and exempted by prescriptive usage from the sheriff's jurisdiction, were governed by a magistrate, variously styled, in the old Saxon charters, *wic-reeve*, *port-reeve*, and *borough-reeve*, *bors-holder*, or *borough's-elder*; and in the Norman times, *constable*, *bailiff*, or *mayor*. Whether the reeve owed his situation to the nomination of the lord, or to the choice of the burgesses, is a doubtful question; but that the king had his own wic-reeve in his royal boroughs we have numerous examples, some of which I have already cited. It is probable that where this officer existed, the burgesses also had their own magistrate, for the administration of the municipal affairs of the borough. Thus we find in the old laws of Lothere and Edric, kings of Kent, in the seventh century, the king's wic-reeve of Lunden-wic or London, expressly mentioned; we know that the port-reeve of London was appointed by the crown; and that the first mayor of the city, Henry Fitzalwyn, was also nominated by the sovereign, in 1188, and continued in office twenty-four years. In the

same year also the first sheriffs were made; but it was not till after the lapse of eleven years that the citizens obtained leave to choose these officers, and not before the charter of 1215 that they were permitted to elect their mayor annually. My own notion is, that the king had his officer in the large boroughs, to watch his interests and collect his dues, for in the early Saxon times these boroughs were almost independent republics, and that the burgesses had their officer; there thus being two reeves, perhaps more, in a borough; the burgesses' reeve being the chief magistrate for municipal affairs, the other reeves having a character not unlike that of our consuls in foreign ports, but invested with the additional power of levying dues upon their master's subjects. Thus in a law of Lothere and Edric, just alluded to, the king's reeve is mentioned. But at that time London was a free trading town, lying neutral between Kent on the one side and Mercia on the other, and the law relates only to Kentish men in London buying chattels in that city. During the period when the country was broken up into several independent kingdoms, an influential borough like London would stand free as an independent state; but as these kingdoms gradually merged, and finally became subject to the sway of one all-conquering ruler, the boroughs would readily fall under him also, and the burgesses' reeve would become absorbed in the king's reeve. Where Palgrave, Turner, and Hallam, however, hesitate to define a theory, I (whose reading when compared with theirs is so limited) feel that every apology is due for even suggesting one. But by whomsoever appointed, the wic-reeve was, from the earliest periods, an officer of great importance in the more populous towns, and was sometimes numbered among the noblest in the land. Both Bede and the Saxon Chronicle record, that when Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, preached baptism in Lindsey, in the year 627, the first who believed was



"a certain great man called Blecca," who was the reeve of the city of Lincoln.

The primary duty of the reeve, as the king's officer, was to collect his lord's revenue, consisting chiefly of tolls on sales, manumissions, and judicial executions; which tolls, in the "*Codex Exoniensis*," are described as being paid to the reeve "for the king's hand." His next duty was to watch over the king's interests, and to exercise within the limits of the borough the same authority which the sheriff exercised within the shire. In royal burghs, and in the boroughs belonging to earls palatine, this jurisdiction of the reeve comprehended both civil and criminal cases; but in boroughs belonging to other lords, who had only the cognizance of civil suits in their Leet or Court Baron, then the sheriff, as the king's officer, had jurisdiction in all criminal cases. Royal charters, however, when granted, always gave to a borough complete and exclusive jurisdiction; the burgesses then, by their reeve, had the return of all writs, and were, in the language of those times, "quit of suits of shires and hundreds," and their jurisdiction comprehended *sac* and *soc*, that is, jurisdiction over the whole territory of the lord; *toll*, liberty to buy and sell; *them*, the forfeiture of stolen goods; *infangthef* and *outfangthef*, authority to punish robberies. In his double capacity, therefore, as the lord's magistrate and the guardian of the burgesses, the reeve was bound to preserve the king's peace, and see that watch and ward were duly kept; to prosecute and punish "murder, rapine, and wrong," and to make those who committed such offences responsible to justice for their conduct. All sales were to be transacted in his presence, and not without the walls or bounds of the borough; and no article could be legally disposed of unless it had first been weighed or measured by him, and had been subjected to toll. Hence, he granted a license to trade to

any hawker or pedlar coming within the borough for only a short time, and if such pedlar came for good, and was a freeman, then it was his duty to enrol him as a burgess—as one of the permanent free inhabitant householders of the borough. If the new comer was a member of any trading guild, that was reckoned as a proof of his freedom, and the fact was investigated and decided by a jury of six men, who were to come from the stranger's "birth-shire." Any foreign-coming man, who was found wandering about, and did not proclaim his ware by "acclamation," was to be taken as a thief, and either slain or redeemed. If any merchant went forth of the borough to pursue his merchandise, and did not make the reeve "a witness of it," as the old phrase went, or inform his neighbours where he was going and when he should return, or if when he returned he did not tell them the purchases he had made, he was punished by the loss of his property.

For the due performance of these regulations, a certain number of burgesses was to be elected as witnesses of every sale or purchase: thirty-three in the larger boroughs and twelve in the smaller ones, each of whom was to take oath that "neither for money, love, nor fear, nor any other cause, would he say anything but the truth." Not less than two of these "sworn men" were to witness every mercantile transaction.

As a necessary consequence of their exemption from the sheriff's interference, and that the borough-reeve might ensure the regular observance of all these laws, every free man in the borough was to take his oath by his pledges, in the Folkmote, Portmote, or Court Leet of the Borough. The *Burghwara* were summoned to this court by the ringing of the "*Mot Bell*," and if any burgess refused to go and render suit and service and give his pledges, and absented himself three times, he was fined for contempt. If he

failed to pay the fine, the elders of the borough were to go and seize all that he had, and take it in lieu of his pledge. The burgesses were bound to attend this court, because, in the words of the laws of Edward the Confessor, it was "there, where the people who are under the protection or in the peace of the king ought to come, and by *their common council* provide for the indemnity of the crown, and for repressing the insolence of wrong-doers to the common good of the kingdom. And that these all ought to come, once in the year, in the Kalends of May, and with their faith and oath unbroken, they should unite themselves together into one body as *sworn brethren*, to defend the king against strangers and enemies; and that they would be faithful to the king and swear their fidelity to him."

The law of the *Free Borough* with regard to this pledge, termed in Yorkshire "ten man tale," was this: Every man was to be under the pledge of the decenna or ten men, so that if one incurred forfeiture the other nine should produce him to do right. If they found him, he was forfeited; if he continued at large, then the Head Freeborough (Friborges heofod) was to take two of the most respectable members and the tything-man of each of the three neighbouring decennæ or tythings, together with two of his own tything, and these twelve as *Compurgators* were to clear the tything, if possible, from all participation in the crime and flight of the offender. If they failed in this, then compensation was to be paid out of the goods of the offender, and failing this, from the tything at large. This done, the three tything-men took oath still to bring the offender forth whenever they could, or disclose his retreat when they discovered it.

In the Saxon period the Burghmote was generally held three times a year, and Magna Charta made it incumbent to be held not less than twice in the year. At the Burghmote held in the Kalends of October, the reeve was generally

appointed, and the burgesses also undertook their *lot* for the year; that is, were elected to fulfil such municipal duties as attached to the offices of constable, overseer, churchwarden, juryman or compurgator, or were drafted into the *posse burgi*, or borough police force.

The larger boroughs were divided into districts, answering to hundreds in the shire. These districts were variously named: in London, Cambridge, Stamford, and the generality of the towns, they were called "wards;" in York city they were termed "shires;" and in Huntington they went by the name of "ferlings or quarters." Each ward had its own wardmote or leet, under its elected alderman, and was for certain purposes a distinct jurisdiction; although, as has before been stated, there existed certain exclusive sokes in parts of most large boroughs. Where also a baronial castle was situated within the walls or precincts of the borough, its moat and bastions were a bar to the legal jurisdiction of the burgesses, and their wic-reeve had no authority. In turbulent times this was a source of constant provocation to the burgesses; they were never free from the raids of the garrison, who knew that their booty was secure from seizure, and their persons from legal arrest, when once within the confines of the castle.

What qualifications entitled an inhabitant of the borough to the privileges of burgess-ship, is a question which has been repeatedly discussed in parliament, and in the great law courts of the realm, and has been decided in various ways.

Four different theories have been held on this subject.

1. Under Edward I. the right was vested in the inhabitant householders, resident in the borough, paying *scot* and *lot*, and probably general taxes. This was laid down by a celebrated decision of a committee of the House of Commons in 1624, and was called the Common Law Right, which

ought always to obtain where prescriptive usage to the contrary cannot be shown.

2. The right sprung from the tenure of certain freehold lands and burgages within the borough, and did not belong to any other tenants.

3. The right was derived from charters of incorporation, and belonged to the community of freemen of the corporate body.

4. Dr. Brady, who wrote his History of Corporations to justify the Stuarts, asserted that the right did not extend to the generality of the freemen, but was limited to the governing part, or municipal magistracy—the mayor and aldermen.

Owing to our extended knowledge of the ancient laws and charters, both of the Saxon and Norman times, the doubts which once existed on this point cannot now be entertained, because they are not justified by any reference to these authorities. Of the above four theories, therefore, the last one is utterly untenable; the third one, though now generally accepted, is not based upon historical accuracy; while the truth lies more fully in the first than in the second.

The first distinguishing characteristic of the borough was its exemption from all interference by the sheriff, for which reason many boroughs are entered in Domesday distinctly, by themselves, before the terra regis, and the general return of the county. Those who possessed the privilege of this exclusive jurisdiction were the permanent, free, resident householders of the borough, who paid scot, gable, burgh-boot, and other local rates; bore lot; and who were presented, sworn, and enrolled at their own Leet or Burghmote. Their burgess-ship did not depend on Tenure, as the second theory represents, because many burgesses belonged to other manors, that is, they were the vassals of a lord who was not the owner of the soil of the borough in

which they resided. Its fundamental basis was, their being *resident* householders. In Domesday they are mentioned as distinctly connected with their houses, which are described as *inhabited*, and for which they paid the usual customs. All householders, however, were not burgesses: peers, ecclesiastics, minors, females, villeins, and infamous persons, who did not undertake the duties of burgess-ship, being excluded; which explains why many houses are recorded in Domesday as inhabited, but as having no burgesses. Nor were all inhabitants burgesses; children, apprentices, law journeymen, chamber-holders not keeping craft, and householders by themselves, were shut out by an ordinance relating to Colchester in the reign of Henry VI.

The members of merchant guilds and trading companies, who came to and fro and were non-resident tenants in the borough, were also not burgesses; and thus we find again in Domesday that the burgesses are always distinguished from the merchants of the guild; the former being generally styled "freemen;" the latter, "the men of the guild." The earliest use of the term "burgess," so far as we know, occurs in one of the Conqueror's laws. It is only used once in Domesday, and then in reference to the householders of Ipswich, while the word "inhabitants" is not used oftener. All the privileges of exclusive jurisdiction which were granted to the burgesses were given to them and their *heirs* to hold hereditarily; the word "*successors*," as denoting the grant of corporate privileges, never being found in the Saxon and early Norman charters. The *first* use of this term in our old documents occurs in a grant to the citizens of London (12 Henry III.), giving them the right of free warren at Staines; but as it is joined with the word "*heirs*," it is a question whether it does not apply to the ecclesiastical corporations of the archbishops, abbots, and priors mentioned in the beginning of the charter; "*heirs*" being used with refer-

ence to the citizens only. For, after this, we find the same king granting other liberties to the citizens, and using only the older word in his grant. This term next appears in the 12 Edward III., in a document relating to Beverley; but it is here coupled with the other word; and Beverley, it must be remembered, had formerly been an ecclesiastical establishment.

About this time also, viz., in the reign of Henry III., the word "commonalty" began to be applied to the burgesses, and *common seals* came into frequent use. "But their adoption," observes Merewether, "is no proof of the existence of a municipal corporation, because common seals were used by places that we know were not incorporated." In fact, while we find frequent acknowledgments in charters of the corporate powers of guilds and religious fraternities, we are unable to produce any proof that the doctrine of artificial succession, which applies only to a corporate body, was ever applied to the burgesses. On the contrary, we have abundant testimony that the burgesses never regarded themselves in that capacity. The famous laws of Mortmain, as we all know, were directed against the acquisition of lands by corporate bodies, because the crown thereby lost the most valuable sources of its feudal revenue, and the property fell into dead hands, as it was termed. But the burgesses, as a body politic, continued as before to purchase and acquire property, because they were not comprised under the term of corporate bodies. Therefore the 15th of Richard II., after reciting former laws against Mortmain, adds that "because mayors, bailiffs, and commons of cities, boroughs, and other towns, which have a perpetual commonalty, and others which have offices perpetual, be as perpetual as people of religion, they should not henceforth purchase to them and to their commons or offices," which some might view as an acknowledgment of their corporate character by implication. Yet

the burgesses did not so infer; for after this, in the reign of Henry IV., the burgesses of Plymouth petitioned the king to create them into a body corporate, to empower them to purchase tenements without the king's license. Their petition was not granted till after the lapse of twenty-eight years.

The oldest charter of incorporation granted to a municipal body is that which was conferred upon the burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull in 1439, and it differs both in its language and provisions from any municipal charter before granted.\* Plymouth, Ipswich, Coventry, Southampton, Woodstock, Canterbury, Nottingham, and Tenterden were soon afterwards similarly favoured.

But, although charters of incorporation proper were not granted before the middle of the fifteenth century, the doctrine that the ancient boroughs were, by the nature of their privileges, municipal corporations, was laid down in our law-courts about the same time. In the 6 Edward IV. it was held in Common Pleas, that if the king gave land *in fee farm* to the good men of the *town* of Dale, the corporation was good. And so likewise when it was given to the burgesses, citizens, and commonalty." This decision laid the foundation of *Corporations by Inference or Implication*, so that the early charters of immunities granted by Henry II., Richard I., and John, are now regarded as charters of incorporation, which is neither historically nor legally true. Not historically true, in that the burgesses did not regard their charters in that light, for if they did, then the express grants of incorporation to Bristol and Norwich, and all other places already enjoying the immunities of a Borough, were unnecessary. And not legally true, because the essence of a corporation is its artificial succession; whereas the succession of a borough was only natural and perpetual as long as the borough existed. Or, according to Madox, in his

\* See the charter at length in Merewether's Boroughs.



*Firma Burgi*: "As the inhabitants of towns would always continue in perpetual succession, so every municipal body was, by natural succession, perpetual, whether corporate or not;" perpetual existence being here attributed to the perpetual existence of the city; not to any corporate body within. Therefore, we find it stated, in a law case in the reign of Edward I., that "the commonalty of London was perpetual," although the metropolis was not at that time incorporated.

In all these charters of incorporation the qualifications of the burgesses were variously described, and so it happened that numerous abuses crept in. The privileges of burgess-ship were confined in some to *select bodies*, who should have the exclusive power of electing their local officers and their parliamentary representatives. In others they were stated to belong to all who paid *scot and lot*; in others, to mere householders; in others, to potwallers; and in some even all the parishioners were qualified with the elective franchise. Other charters, again, granted chiefly in the corrupt reigns of the second Charles and James, declared non-residents, gentlemen, and farmers paying no scot and bearing no local burdens, to be burgesses; all which abuses were granted for the purpose of swamping the real burgesses, who were too independent for the crown in those days. They were all continued through the reigns of the Georges, until the Reform Bill swept all or most of them away.

The chief causes which seem to have induced the boroughs already possessing charters of immunity to petition for the further security of their privileges by the grant of Charters of Incorporation, were the encroachments which the guilds were constantly making upon the liberties of the householders. In the parliamentary rolls of the 16 Henry VI. we read that "the guilds, under colour of general words in their charters, had made many disloyal and unrea-

sonable ordinances, by which many were deprived of their franchises, for the private profit of the guilds, but to the common damage of the people. For which reason they were put under restraint in making such ordinances." And again, the parliamentary rolls of the same reign, in an entry relative to the guild of Tailors at Exeter, say, "the persons who had been admitted by the guild into the fraternity were of such number, and of such wild disposition, and so unpeaceable, that the mayor of the city could not guide and rule the subjects there, nor correct such defaults as ought by him to be corrected, according to his duty and charge. And besides, they had made divers conventicles, commotions, and great divisions among the people, contrary to the laws and peace of the king, in evil example, and likely to grow to the subversion and destruction of the city, and the good and politic rule of the same, unless due remedy was made by the king. Whereupon the king was petitioned that the guild might be annulled." Most readers of history also are familiar with the character of the London livery companies in this respect; with their frequent turbulences and explosions of jealousy, and their constant invasions upon the privileges of the city.

No account of the constitution of the old English borough, however brief, would be complete without some notice of these guilds, because they formed an important feature in the internal organisation of towns from the very earliest times. Each Roman city, in Britain as well as in the other provinces, contained its colleges of operatives, who held an ambiguous position between slavery and freedom. Each society had its own tutelary deity, in whose temples its members worshipped and celebrated their mysterious rites. The members of some colleges ate at a common table; and in all of them it was a law strictly enforced that the son should take up the occupation of his father, and that

the daughter should marry a person of her father's craft, or who was prepared to adopt it.

Under the Saxons, these voluntary associations were either secular or religious; in some cases they were formed for mutual defence against injury; in others, for mutual relief in poverty. Because each member was to contribute his share towards the support and charge of the society, they were called Guilds, from the Saxon verb *gildan*, to pay. Among the thanes of Cambridgeshire there existed a fellowship for the first purpose above stated; and a similar one we find mentioned in the laws of king Athelstane. In another fraternity among the clergy and laity of Exeter, every *fellow* was entitled to a contribution if he had to take a journey, or if his house was burned. Many of the Saxon guilds therefore resembled our modern friendly societies. At the Conquest, many of them possessed landed property of their own, and were lords over tenants; they had their *Hans Hus*, or *Guildhall*, where they elected their *Hansward* and other officers, transacted the business of their association, and gave their entertainments. Thus there was in London the Cnichten guild, or guild of English knights, which possessed a soke and land both within and without the borough; York, Dover, Beverley had their Guildhalls, and their guilds, with common property both in house and land.

In consequence of the great increase of trade after the Conquest, and to follow the example of the Flemish cities, guilds became more numerous, and were peculiarly commercial, each class of workmen in the larger boroughs, and the general body of workmen in all trades in the smaller ones, forming themselves into a body—not, however, without the sanction of the royal authority. If any borough presumed to erect a guild within its limits, without this sanction, a fine was imposed upon its burgesses. But as the advantages of union among craftsmen were so very great

in those days, *adulterine* guilds were frequently set up. The burgesses of Totnes were fined five marks by Henry II. for such unauthorised conduct; the guild of Holywell was also amerced; likewise the goldworkers of London; the guild of *bochers*, and others. All these were suppressed by the Crown.

These institutions were very necessary in that age, although they impeded the progress of industry by excluding competition. This necessity is most clearly seen in the history of the woollen manufacture. The Flemings, who first established it in England, as early as 1186, were regarded with jealousy by the common people, while the barons envied them their wealth, and often attacked and plundered them in the fairs and markets to which they resorted. The Norman sovereigns, therefore, conferred various privileges on them, not so much for the advancement of their arts, as for their protection against popular outrage and depredation, because their trade was a source of revenue to the crown. They placed them within the protection of walled towns; they granted them charters, empowering them to form themselves into guilds, to make corporate laws for their government, and to raise troops for their own defence. William the Conqueror established them in Carlisle; Henry I., in the county of Pembroke. Henry II. granted a fair for the clothiers and dressers, to be held in the churchyard of Bartholomew Priory, near Smithfield, still called the Cloth Fair; and towards the end of his reign he settled them in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Nottinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, and Winchester.

Edward III., who had so many dealings with the Flemings on the continent, especially befriended them, and he invited over several colonies. John Kemp, a Flemish cloth worker, together with many fullers and dyers, settled at Kendal, in Westmoreland; another body settled at Norwich, where they made woollen fustians; a

third made baizes at Salisbury; a fourth, kerseys in Devon; and others, friezes in Wales, cloths in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and the southern counties, coarse cloths in the West Riding, and serges at Colchester. The inducements which Edward held out to these foreign workmen are so quaintly described by Fuller that I cannot forbear quoting his account of them.

“The intercourse now being great betwixt the English and the Netherlands (increased of late since king Edward married the daughter of the Earl of Hainault), unsuspected emissaries were employed by our king into those countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such Dutchmen as were absolute masters of their trade, but not masters of themselves as either journeymen or apprentices. These bemoaned the slavishness of these poor servants, whom their masters used rather like heathens than Christians, yea, rather like horses than men. Early up and late in bed, and all day hard work and harder fare (a few herrings and mouldy cheese), and all to enrich the churles, their masters, without any profit unto themselves. But oh! how happy should they be if they would but come over into England, bringing their mystery with them, which would provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs; yea, they should feed on the labours of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves. \* \* \* Happy the yeoman’s house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within their doors, soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them. Yea, these yeomen, in whose houses they harboured, soon became gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms, and worship to their estates.”

The various trades in the woollen manufacture, the fullers, the clothiers, the tapisers, the weavers, had their respective guilds, and were chartered companies; and besides them there were the goldsmiths, who obtained the right of assaying metals; the vintners, who had similar authority to gauge wines; the saddlers, the barbers, and the carpenters. The tools of a carpenter at Colchester, we are told, were—a broad axe, worth fivepence—another axe, value threepence—an adze, twopence—a square, one penny—and a navegor or spokeshave, one penny, making the total value of his chest of tools worth twelvepence. The Mercers Company was composed of the hatters and the harriers; the Milliners Company imported Milan goods, such as brooches, spurs, and trinkets; the Drapers manufactured or *draped* cloth. These, together with the Haberdashers, who dealt in pins chiefly, were the most influential of the London guilds. Forty-eight companies, however, had the right of sending burgesses to the municipal council; the grocers, mercers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, and vintners sent six councillors each; the haberdashers, hurriers, saddlers, weavers, tapisers, and barbers, four each; the carpenters, two; thirteen companies out of the forty-eight electing sixty-two common councillors. This fact alone readily explains what was stated before, that the guilds had become too powerful for the boroughs, and that the latter, in self defence, petitioned to be placed on an equal footing with them by the grant of charters of incorporation.

Chaucer has given us portraits of five of these guildsmen, "warm, comfortable men," as he styles them:

"A Haberdasher and a Carpenter,  
A Webbe, a Dyer, and a Tapiser  
Were all yclothèd in one livery,  
Of a solemn and great fraternity.  
Full fresh and new their gear ypickèd was,  
Their knives were ychapèd not with brass,

But all with silver wrought, full clean and well ;  
 Their girdles and their pouches every del.  
 Well seemèd each of them a fair burgéss  
 To sitten in a guildhall, on the dais ;  
 Everich, for the wisdom that he can,  
 Was shapely for to be an alderman.  
 For cattle hadden they enough, and rent ;  
 And eke their wivés would it well assent ;  
 And elles certainly they were to blame :  
 It is full fair to be yclep'd Madáme ;  
 And for to go to vigils all before,  
 And have a mantle royally ybore."

That the trades guild of the fourteenth century was "a solemn and great fraternity," as Chaucer thus describes, may be readily seen upon a consideration of its internal organisation. The chief officers were termed masters and wardens, and their power was as complete over the members and their apprentices, as that of the feudal lord over his vassals. All matters relating to the binding of apprentices, the admission of freemen, the preservation of the rights and privileges of the craft, the detection of frauds, the enactment of sumptuary laws, and the arrangement of the elections for the common council were under their control. If the sovereign demanded a tax, loan, or benevolence from the guild, he applied to the master or warden ; if a craftsman came to the hall shabbily dressed, the master took him sharply to task and punished him ; if any one was found practising the craft of the guild without having been apprenticed to it, and duly admitted into the fellowship, it was the warden's duty to prosecute him, as also any member who did not make his articles of the size and quality prescribed by the guild, and sell it at the price fixed by it. Not that these regulations insured to the customer a genuine article, for the guild was often negligent, frequently corrupt in this respect, so that we find it a cause of complaint against the weavers in the reign of Edward II., that the bailiffs of their guild over-looked

any one who sold cloth under the name of *Cloth of Candlewick Street*, although such cloth was not of the kind and quality stated.

The annual election of the master and warden of a guild was a grand and picturesque ceremonial. All the members of the guild, with their wives, went to the church of their patron saint in solemn procession, habited in their rich and magnificent costumes, and accompanied by singing clerks and priests in full canonicals. The mayor and aldermen of the city, attired in their dazzling scarlet robes, also formed part of the procession; whilst, scattered along the line, appeared tall waxen tapers, blazing away from amidst their "costly garnishments." After service, the company proceeded in the same state to their hall, where the most luxurious dinner which the age could produce was set out and at once disposed of, before business began, according to the ancient English custom. Then followed the election ceremony. The outgoing officers left the hall, and presently re-entered with garlands on their heads, preceded by minstrels playing. Some merriment then ensued in trying the garlands on the heads of the members, till it was found that they exactly fitted those who had already been selected in a private and more business-like meeting of the guild. These members, thus donned with garlands, then took their oaths; the golden cup was passed round from the old officers to the new, their healths were drank in acclamations, and they were welcomed, amidst great enthusiasm, as the governors and guardians of the guild for the ensuing year.

The rank of alderman, as Chaucer describes in the passage I have quoted, was a great point of ambition with these well-to-do citizens. Some of the qualifications required for this dignity he mentions, viz., the possession of a certain number of cattle, and a certain amount of rent—and to be wise in mind and shapely in figure. So also Stow tells us



that it was necessary for a person proposed as alderman, that he should be without deformity in body, wise and discreet in mind, wealthy, honourable, faithful, free, and of no base or servile condition; that no disgrace which might happen to him on account of his birth might thence redound on the rest of the aldermen or the whole city. The alderman, even so late as the fourteenth century, still retained some marks of his old baronial dignity, and he was interred with all the pomp which attended the burial of a lord baron. His wife was called Madame, My lady; she took precedence on public occasions, and had her mantle carried before her by a page.

The 'prentices of these great master-workmen were kept in strict order during their minority. For all that, they were a free, sturdy, riotous, and unruly set of youths. Chaucer has a description of one, belonging to the craft of Victuallers, who was

“ Gaillard as goldfinch in the shaw,  
Brown as a berry, a proper stout fellaw,  
With lockés black, combed full fetisly,  
Dancen he could so well and jolily  
That he was cleped Perkin Revelour.  
He was as full of love and paramour,  
As is the hive full of honey sweet.  
Well was the wenche with him might meet.  
At every bridal would he sing and hop;  
He loved bet' the tavern than the shop.  
For when there any riding was in Cheap  
Out of the shoppe thither would he leap;  
And till that he had all the sight yseen,  
And dancèd well, he would not come again.

But woe betide him! if he was caught in any *faux pas*, such as playing at dice in the street. His master brought him before the guild; and then two “tall men,” disguised in frocks and hoods, would suddenly fall upon him, and there, in the presence of the master and wardens, “without any words speaking,” they would pull off the shirt and doublet of Perkin Revelour, and there upon his naked hide would

spend the whole of "two pennyworth of birchen rods, for his unthrifty demeanour."

Let us now, as a conclusion, take a glance at these city tradesmen, engaged in their daily traffic. All the different traders and workmen generally congregated together in one borough, if they lived in the provinces, so that each large borough became known for some special trade carried on by its burgesses. Thus York was known for the weaving of coverlets; Norwich, for the manufacture of worsted; Gloucester, for its ironworks. So also in London the merchants and craftsmen of each trade had their shops in the same street, which in some cases derived its name from them, as Fish Street, Lombard Street, Candlewick Street. There is an old poem, called "The London Lyckpenny," written by John Lydgate during the first half of the fifteenth century, which describes very minutely the business habits of the London tradesman.

A Kent yeoman, having come up to town in search of legal redress, is unable to obtain it because he has not the means to pay his fees. So he resolves to see the sights of the town before he returns home. While yet within the precincts of Westminster Hall, his hood is stolen by some cut-purse in the crowd, the gaping wonder with which he stares at everything no doubt marking him out as a country bumpkin, and therefore a safe victim for the sharpers. No sooner does he get outside the door than he is instantly set upon by Flemish pedlars. "Master, what will you buy? Fine felt hats? Or spectacles to read? Lay down your silver, and here you may speed." But "wanting money, he might not be sped," so he passes on to Westminster Gate, which he reaches about noon, "when the sun was at high prime." This is the dinner hour of the common people, and he finds himself surrounded by cooks' stalls, and they, noticing that he looked hungry and forlorn, offer him bread,

ale, and wine, "ribs of beef, both fat and full fine," and spread a fair cloth for him, to sit down and begin. But, hungry as he is, his empty stomach must keep companionship with his empty purse, and he hies him unto the Borough, where he finds every street alive and swarming with traffickers, all crying their several wares.

"Hot peascods!" one began to cry;

"Strawberry ripe and cherries in the ryse!"

And one bade him come near and buy some spice, pepper, and saffron. Through this Babel he proceeds to "the Chepe," where the regular tradesmen of the guilds all stood at their shop doors and tempted the passers-by to purchase, somewhat after the same fashion of certain drapers in our days. One offers him velvet, silk, and lawn; another more importunate takes him by the hand, and, displaying his goods with every art and cunning device, exclaims, "Here is Paris thread, the finest in the land;" all which, however, only bewilders the poor countryman, who "never was used to such things indeed;" and so he goes on by London Stone, "through all Canwyke-street," where the tradesmen pester him more than ever. For he is now among the cheap Johns; the second-hand clothiers; the vendors of "hot sheep's feet;" of mackerel; and of green rushes to carpet his rooms withal; and one seeing him bareheaded offers to sell him a cheap hood. Close by is East Chepe, the famous haunt of Sir John Falstaff and Prince Hal; the site of Mistress Quickly's Blue Boar Inn. Here "one cries ribs of beef," and many, "hot pies." Amidst all the wrangling and market din, the taverns send forth a clatter of pewter pots and the noise of riot and contention; while higher than all, the ballad singers roar out lustily to the music of harp and pipe. From all this confusion our rustic "*yode anon*," and he gets him to Cornhill, at that time the market for stolen goods. He,

therefore, sees here "much stolen gear," and lo! and behold! his own hood which had been taken from him in the morning, and which he knows again as well as he knows his creed. But "lack of money" is again his evil genius, and he has had enough law for the present, so he wends his way bareheaded still, and presently is pressed into a tavern by an officious landlord, who takes him by the sleeve and asks him to "assay" his wine. Quite wearied with his adventures, he cannot resist this last appeal to his beggarly purse; he spends the only penny he has got in a pint of wine, and, sore-a-hungered, wends his way home.

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#### FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, November 27th, 1865.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

• Ladies were present at this meeting, on the invitation of the Council.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Messrs. Frederick C. Estill, Arthur W. Biggs, William Mountfield, and Dr. Spola, were balloted for, and duly elected ordinary members.

Dr. COLLINGWOOD drew attention to the investigations of three foreign naturalists, bearing upon the Darwinian theory. The first of these was Fritz Müller, who had written a work entitled, "Für Darwin," in which he examines the theory by the test of the development of the crustacea, and the results he arrives at are corroborative of the correctness of Mr. Darwin's views. The second was Dr. Walsh, of America,

who has been investigating the variations of insects dependent upon the nature of their food-plant, and comes to the conclusion that he cannot discover where varieties end and species begin, and is disposed to consider that varieties strengthen and become species, and that the difference between them is merely one of mode and degree. The third was M. Matteucci, who has described an apparently rudimentary electric organ in the ray, analogous to that known in the torpedo, and the existence of which might be considered as linking the perfect electric organ of the latter with non-electrical fishes.

Mr. FERGUSON referred to the abundance of the humming-bird hawk-moth during the past summer, and instanced its occurrence as far north as the northern part of Aberdeenshire.

Dr. GINSBURG, Vice-President, then took the Chair, and a paper was read

#### ON ENGLISH COINAGE,

By J. A. PICTON, Esq., President.

After the paper some discussion arose, in which Dr. Ginsburg, Mr. Towson, Dr. Collingwood, and others took part; and the meeting then adjourned.

## FIFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, December 11th, 1865.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Ladies were present at this meeting, on the invitation of the Council.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Mr. ENGLISH exhibited some paper made from the bamboo cane, which had been sent by Mr. Robertson Gladstone, and observed that the bamboo was likely to be extensively used in paper making, thirty-one vessels having been chartered to convey the bamboo from Jamaica to New York, in addition to others chartered to bring it to this country. The bamboo could be had for the gathering, and was, therefore, inexpensive.

The Rev. Mr. HIGGINS mentioned, as a fact illustrating the extreme mildness of the season, that in a walk round his garden on the previous day he found thirty-one different plants in bloom—a circumstance of very unusual occurrence on the 10th December.

The Rev. J. Edwin Odgers was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

Captain Walker, of the ship "Trenton," was duly elected an Associate of the Society.

A paper was then read on

## INDIA : ITS HISTORY, CHARACTERS, AND PROSPERITY;

WITH MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE THREE PRINCIPAL RACES,  
THE HINDOOS, MAHOMEDANS, AND PARSEES.

Illustrated by a Panorama, and Views of the three Presidencies, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; Court Dresses of the Ladies and Gentlemen; and various Cities, Palaces, &c., exhibited by means of the Oxy-Hydrogen Lantern.

BY MR. D. MONECKJEE LALCACA.

## SIXTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 8th, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Mr. James Thomson was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

A communication from the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, relative to the restoration of the Chapter House at Westminster, having been read, it was unanimously resolved, "That this Society desires to record its cordial approval of the proceedings taken to induce her Majesty's Government to adopt measures for the restoration of the Chapter House at Westminster, as a national monument alike interesting from its beauty as a work of art, and its connexion with the early history and progress of the English constitution; and would lend its aid in earnestly pressing on the proper authorities the desirability of early action, which it believes will be gratifying to the nation at large."

It was further resolved, "That the President be requested to comply with the wish of Dean Stanley, the chairman of the Restoration Committee, to add his name to that committee."

Mr. A. HIGGINSON exhibited a garment made from the Lace-bark tree of Jamaica.

The Rev. H. H. HIGGINS made some observations regarding the calculation of the rising and setting of a star without the use of instruments.

Dr. GINSBURG exhibited an ancient Jewish marriage contract.

The following paper was then read :—

## AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

BY JOHN NEWTON, Esq., M. R. C. S.

1. WHAT WAS THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY OUR LORD?
2. WHAT WAS THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH MATTHEW WROTE HIS GOSPEL?

The questions which I have put at the head of this Paper might well engage our attention as literary exercises, even if they had not the additional interest derived from sacred associations. I shall discuss them in the order in which they are placed, since the answer to the first question must be allowed great weight in deciding the second. At the outset, then, the broad fact confronts us, that the discourses and sayings of our Lord have been preserved to our time in one language—the Greek. From this, as the one sole fountain-head, all the innumerable versions, ancient and modern, have been derived. Must we, therefore, take it for certainly proved that He spoke Greek? Surely not. For, whether right or wrong, it seems to have been the almost universal opinion, from the days of Eusebius, Chrysostom, and Jerome, even down to our own time, that Christ spoke the Hebrew language; not, indeed, the literary Hebrew as we have it in the sacred books, but a modernised dialect of it, containing many Chaldee and Syriac words. The reasons for this opinion are many and cogent. We shall briefly state them.

The sacred literature of the Jews has been preserved, by what may most truly be called a miracle, down to our own times. It has always been transmitted by them with super-



stitious care, and regarded with a reverence approaching to worship. It is written throughout in Hebrew, and no one has ever disputed that this is the original language. We have here an unbroken succession of Hebrew records, from the time of Moses to that of Nehemiah and Malachi; thus extending to within about 390 years of the birth of Christ. The language in which they are written is often styled by the writers themselves "The Jews' language" (Isa. xxxvi. 13; Nehem. xiii. 24). In the New Testament it is called "The Hebrew Tongue" (John v. 2; Acts xxvi. 14). By the later Jews, "The Holy Tongue," a phrase that well expresses their affectionate reverence. Now, we have no record that the Jews ever lost the use of this their native language. They had been carried away captive into Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, yet they still retained it, as we see in the pages of Ezra and Nehemiah. Many a glimpse, indeed, is afforded us of the tenacity with which the exiled Hebrews clung to the religion and language of their forefathers. By the rivers of Babylon they were called on to sing one of those sacred songs the fame of which had been wafted to foreign lands; but they refused to sing Jehovah's Song to make mirth for the heathen and the stranger. Psalm cxxxvii. 4. During the interval between the last of the inspired Hebrew writers and the birth of Christ, two fresh waves of conquest swept over their land; but neither their Greek nor their Roman masters again displaced them from the country of their forefathers. The great temple of Solomon, pillaged of its treasures, and left a ruin, by the Babylonians, but repaired through the piety of Nehemiah, and farther beautified and extended by Herod the Great, remained to the time of Christ. It was looked on as the palladium of Jewish nationality, and something of the ancient splendour of their religious rites was still preserved. To the Holy Land, but especially to Jerusalem, the Jewish pilgrims flocked from all

parts of the earth. It was their dearest wish that its sacred soil should be their last resting-place. In this centre of Judaism, then, if no where else, we may surely infer that the born Jew spoke the tongue of his forefathers, peculiarly endeared to him, as it was, by a thousand associations. That the common dialect of the people in Christ's time was no longer the Hebrew of their sacred books we might also infer. The lapse of 400 years had left their mark. Its grammar would be much the same, but its vocabulary would be extended by the introduction of many foreign words—Syriac and Chaldee, Persian, Greek, and Latin. Nor are we left to random guesses on this point, for a vast mass of Jewish Commentary (Talmud), and Paraphrase (Targums), on the sacred Books, has come down to our time, considerable portions of which were committed to writing soon after the destruction of Jerusalem and final dispersion of the Jews. These are all written, not in Greek or Latin, but in various dialects of the Hebrew.

When we turn to the New Testament itself, we find that the names of places are nearly all Hebrew, as Jerusalem ירוּשָׁלַיִם = "abode of peace;" Bethlehem בֵּית לֶחֶם = "House of Bread." The names of persons are also Hebrew, as Jesus, the translation in the Septuagint, or old Greek version, for Joshua יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, "whose help is Jehovah." Mary, written in the Greek *Μαριάμ*, is from the Hebrew מִרְיָם, "Miriam," the sister of Moses. Simon, or Simon Bar-Jona, the Hebrew name by which Christ is always represented as addressing Peter, &c., &c. Throughout the Gospels, Hebrew words spoken by Christ, on certain solemn occasions, are noted, such as Ephphatha, "Be thou opened;" Talitha Cumi, "Maiden, arise!" Over His Cross was a Hebrew inscription; and some of His last words were, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani." These are a quotation from the 22nd Psalm, and stand thus in the Hebrew Bible: אֱלִי אֱלִי לָמָּה עֲזַבְתָּנִי,

or, in Roman letters, "Eli, Eli, lamah azavtani." Now, as the first is evidently a translation of the old Hebrew into the common dialect of Christ's time, it will suffice to shew us how slight the difference really was. Not greater, in fact, than the language of Tyndale's first English Testament, printed 340 years ago, is from the English of our day. The Greek-Jew, Paul, addressed the Roman captain in Greek, but the Jews in Hebrew. Acts xxi. 37. And he it is who records the last appearance of Christ on this earth, when the vision flashed on him as he journeyed towards Damascus. Those few words, which turned the Jewish persecutor into a Christian Apostle, were spoken in the Hebrew tongue.

Nevertheless, in spite of such facts as these, several writers of ability have maintained that our Lord spoke Greek. We may instance Diodati, whose famous work, "*De Christo Græce loquente*," was published in 1767, but has been frequently reprinted and translated since. But by far the most able and zealous advocate for the Greek view is Dr. Alexander Roberts, whose recent work, "*Discussions on the Gospels*," if one may judge by the numerous commendatory notices of it that have appeared in the Reviews, and also in recent standard religious works, appears to have quite turned the tide against the ancient opinion. He does not, like Diodati, affirm that Our Lord *never* spoke anything but Greek, but he affirms (p. 99, 2nd edition) "that Greek was the language which Christ and His Apostles *usually* employed, and that whilst they sometimes made use in public of the Aramaic dialect, such an occurrence was quite exceptional to their ordinary practice, and is on that account specially noticed in the evangelic history."

This view he maintains with uncommon ingenuity and variety of argument. I shall therefore, in justice to so able

an advocate, give you a pretty full abstract of his work, and then hope to shew that the ancient opinion can be abundantly sustained.

Dr. Roberts very distinctly states the object of his book, as follows :—

“I do not undertake to prove that our Lord and his followers *never* made use of the Hebrew language. That would be a rash, and, I think, untenable assertion. But what I maintain, and mean to prove, is, that Greek was the language which they *habitually* used in their public addresses; so that, if any one affirms that Hebrew was used on some occasions, when their discourses are reported in Greek, it remains with him to shew it. I may be inclined to believe that *some* such occasions are *possibly* to be met with in the Gospel history, but at any rate I affirm, that these were *altogether exceptional*, and that Greek was the language usually employed in addressing the very humblest of the people. The position which I uphold is thus the exact converse of that usually maintained upon the subject. While it is now generally said that our Lord spoke for the most part in Hebrew, and only sometimes in Greek, I maintain *that he spoke for the most part in Greek, and only now and then in Hebrew*; and if I fail to adduce sufficient proof that Greek was the tongue spoken by our Lord and his disciples, then let judgment be given accordingly.”

To illustrate his views, he refers to the French Canadians and the Dutch at the Cape Colony, who speak the English language usually, though they preserve their original tongue also. “Or,” he says, “as still more accurately and clearly representing the state of things which then existed in Palestine, I may refer to the Channel Islands: Guernsey, for instance, where the old Norman French, in a corrupted form, is still used by the lower orders of the people, though almost all understand and employ English. So that an English-

man, hearing little but his own tongue, would scarcely suspect that another language was in frequent use by the lower classes." He then proceeds to give his supposed proofs of this position :

"It must be admitted by all that the Greek tongue had become very widely and generally known throughout the world before the birth of Christ. Greek indeed was then the common language of all civilised nations, and thus formed a medium of intercourse between countries far separated in geographical position, as well as differing greatly in national habits and institutions. Many and powerful causes had contributed to this result. First, the transcendent merits of the language itself. Never has a tongue been spoken by man which can vie with the Greek in all that constitutes the excellency of a language. And not only was the Greek the very queen of languages, but it had been so used as to give rise to many of the very masterpieces of human intellect and genius. Such were the allurements of their literature and their arts, that, as Horace says,

*Grecia capta ferum victorem cessit.*

Captive Greece held captive the ferocious victor.

Again, the triumphant march of Alexander the Great, from his native Macedon to the banks of the Indus; the complete subjugation of so many different nations by his arms; the settlement of Greek princes on the thrones of those mighty kingdoms, into which at his death his colossal empire was divided; and the establishment of numerous colonies of Greeks throughout the countries which he had subdued, all necessarily led to the very wide diffusion of the Greek language, and to a general tendency to imitate Greek manners and institutions. Indeed there exists the amplest and clearest testimony to the wide-spread ascendancy which had been gained by the tongue of Greece before the birth of Christ. A familiar acquaintance with it was more or less

possessed by almost all those nations which were then embraced under the sway of Imperial Rome. In the reign of Tiberius, as Valerius Maximus informs us, the Senate resounded even to deafening with Greek debates; and Dio Cassius relates that the same Emperor was accustomed, very frequently, to hear cases argued, and himself to investigate them, in the Greek language. Suetonius bears equally striking testimony to the very general use of Greek by the Romans, under Tiberius and Claudius; and, by the account which he gives of the efforts made by the former Emperor to discourage its use in certain cases, shows how greatly it had encroached on the vernacular language." The pages of Martial, Juvenal, and other classic writers afford abundant "proofs that while, during the period in question, almost countless dialects, in addition to the native Latin, might have been heard among the vast and multifarious population of Rome, the various tribes there mixed together possessed in the language of Greece, then become the language of the world, a means whereby they could communicate with one another." "Accordingly, such facts as the following present themselves to us in the literature of the period:—The Apostle Paul wrote *to* the Romans in Greek; Clement, of Rome, wrote *from* that city in Greek; Ignatius, like Paul, addressed the Roman Christians in Greek; Justin Martyr, although long resident in Rome, composed his two apologies to the Emperor in Greek; and Irenæus wrote from Lyons in Greek, on a theme interesting to, and intended to be considered by, the whole Christian world. The Greek language was one of the few things common to the whole Roman Empire. From the mighty capital to the remotest provinces, the tongue of Greece was employed; and while there were numerous vernacular dialects, which lingered side by side with it, in the many different countries then forming the vast *Orbis Romanus*, it

was Greek which formed a medium of intercourse to the various nations thus politically united, and which was especially made use of as the language of commerce, letters, and public instruction. And now the important question arises: Is there any reason to suppose that Palestine formed an exception to what has just been stated? It seems almost impossible for any one to consider the national history of the Jews, for a century or two before the commencement of our era, without inferring that Greek must have obtained a large ascendancy among them. The several dynasties to which they were successively subjected—Egyptian, Syrian, Roman—all tended to this result. A new wave of Hellenic influence passed over the land, with every fresh change which occurred in its political condition. Ptolemy, Antiochus, and Herod, in whatever else they differed, were alike certain to contribute to the spread of Grecian usages in Palestine. The power of the monarch was also vigorously put forth in the same direction. Thus we are told, in the first book of Maccabees, 'that King Antiochus Epiphanes sent letters to Jerusalem, and to the cities of Judah, that they should walk after the strange laws of the land.' Again, in the 2nd Maccabees, the same monarch sent to compel the Jews to give up the customs of their fathers, and no longer to live after the laws of God; and also to pollute the temple at Jerusalem, and to name it that of Jupiter Olympius; and there went forth a decree against the Jews, that those of them who would not make the required change to the Grecian customs should be put to death. Tacitus also relates the efforts of Antiochus 'to root out the superstitions of the country, and to establish the institutions of the Greeks.' Josephus tells us how Aristobulus and other Jewish leaders were styled Φιλέλλην, *a lover of the Greeks*. Herod the Tetrarch (ruler of Galilee during our Lord's ministry) openly professed himself more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews. Many other influ-

ences favourable to Greek supremacy existed. 'Ever since the time of Alexander the Great,' says Credner, 'the Jews had emigrated from Palestine to Greek countries. In these lands, even the more learned among them, such as Philo, forgot their mother-tongue; and this happened all the more readily, since, from their sacred books having been translated into the Greek language, provision had thus been made even for their religious necessities. Nevertheless, these Grecian Jews, known as Hellenists, remained in unbroken communion with their native country. Jerusalem was always regarded by the Jews as their capital; the Sanhedrim of that city was, in all religious points, their highest authority; and thousands of Greek-speaking Jews travelled annually to Palestine, in order that, in the national sanctuary at Jerusalem, they might present their supplications, and pay their vows, to the Lord who dwelleth in Zion. At the same time, first the Greek, and then the Roman conquerors, filled the land; and from the time of Herod, not only were Greek artists and artizans to be seen at work in Palestine, but Greek colonies were also, in no small numbers, to be found. The combined influences of these circumstances had, in the time of Christ, brought about this peculiar condition of things in Palestine, that the Greek language was generally understood, while the properly Jewish language was understood only by the strictly Jewish inhabitants; so that, one may say, almost all the dwellers in Palestine understood Greek, but not all their own vernacular language.'"

So much from Credner, who, however, did not hold the opinion of Dr. Roberts, who continues:

"The numismatic evidence points the same way; for by far the greater number of the coins circulating in Palestine in our Lord's days, viz., those of the Herodian family, bore Greek inscriptions. Again, take the instance of Josephus, almost a contemporary of our Lord. All his extant writings



are in Greek, and his quotations from Scripture are mostly made from the Alexandrine version. Again, the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament exist only in Greek. One of them, Ecclesiasticus, we know, was at first written in Hebrew or Aramaic, but the original was soon replaced by a translation. It may be admitted, also, in the face of some difficulties, that the first book of Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew, but we know for certain that both books were current among the Jews in Greek before the birth of our Saviour. And now we come to the proofs furnished by the New Testament itself. Here we possess a collection of writings, composed for the most part by Jews of Palestine, and primarily intended to some extent for Jews of Palestine, and all of them written in the Greek language. Now, what is the natural inference? Is it not that Greek must have been well known, both to the writers and their readers; and that it was deemed the most fitting language, at the time, in which for Jews of Palestine both to impart and to receive instruction? And when we find the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews writing to the Jews in Greek, how can we escape the conclusion that they generally understood that language? How could Palestinian Jews, like Peter, James, and John, 'unlettered and ignorant,' as they were styled by their own countrymen, have written in Greek, unless that were the language which men even in the humblest station naturally employed? There is indeed one mode of escaping from the conclusion which follows on this question, and which has been urged by Greswell and others. They believe that the gift of tongues conferred on the Apostles at the day of Pentecost was given for this very purpose. But the idea that the Apostles were taught Greek by the immediate interposition of heaven seems repugnant both to the Bible and to common sense, and most recent commentators have, with Alford, considered the gift of tongues as having been a sud-

den and powerful inspiration of the Holy Spirit, by which the disciples uttered, not of their own minds, but as mouth-pieces of the Spirit, the praises of God, in various languages hitherto, and possibly at the time itself, unknown to them. And, to turn to the gospels: the fact of a few Aramaic words occurring in them does not prove that our Lord habitually spoke Aramaic. It proves exactly the contrary. The constant formula of the inspired writers is, 'Jesus said,' or 'He spoke these words,' without the slightest hint that they are giving us a translation only of the words uttered. It has been argued that the occurrence of such terms now and then in the reports of our Lord's discourses proves that He generally made use of the Syro-Chaldaic language, and that, accordingly, it is in these few instances only that we have examples of the very words He employed. But such a conclusion manifestly rests on a *petitio principii*—there is not the least foundation furnished for it in the Evangelic narrative. The writers seem most anxious to give us the exact words our Lord actually employed, and if they report so few words spoken in Aramaic, it was because that language was rarely used by Him. Of the solemn cries He uttered upon the cross, only one is given in Aramaic, the rest in Greek. As for many other words, such as *Raca*, *Corban*, *Amen*, *Rabbi*, doubtless these Aramaic words had crept into the Greek commonly spoken in Palestine.

"Again, we read, at his Sermon on the Mount, that amongst the multitudes present were many from Decapolis, and from the sea-coasts of Tyre and Sidon, which were Greek colonies. If they were 'astonished at his doctrine,' they must have been able to follow his discourse. If we turn to the Acts of the Apostles, we find only two occasions throughout the book on which Hebrew is spoken of as being employed, namely, the address of Paul to the excited multitude at Jerusalem, and the words that fell on his ears from

heaven on the road to Damascus. Peter's discourse to the assembled multitudes bears every mark of having been delivered in the Greek language. His quotations from the Old Testament are manifestly from the Septuagint version, and only in the Greek could he have been understood by the mixed multitude assembled from every country under heaven.

"As to the Greeks, whose widows were neglected in the daily ministration by the Hebrews in the Church at Jerusalem, the Hellenists, *Ελληνισταί*, denoted those Jews who had relaxed in the stringency of their Judaism. Stephen's speech was evidently in Greek, as all the numerous quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures are from the Septuagint, and proves, if any further proof were needed, that the Sanhedrim whom he addressed were familiar with the use of the Greek tongue. To return to the Gospels, it is an important and suggestive fact, that all the records we possess of our Saviour's teaching are contained in the Greek language. *According to the common view we have thus scarcely a single word* of what he actually said, of all the precious sayings he uttered. I would ask, Is this likely? Nothing but the most overpowering evidence should convince me of what I believe to be in the highest degree improbable. Whence came that peculiar dialect of the Greek in which most of these books are written, unless it was a spoken one? Again, most of the quotations from the Old Testament to be found in the New are not independent translations from the Hebrew Scriptures, but are more or less exactly from the ancient Greek translation called the Septuagint. This version, then, was the great source whence the Apostles derived their Old Testament citations; and it must be admitted that the fact stated points to their habitual use of the Greek, and not the Hebrew language. Grinfield says, 'There is no evidence to show that they were acquainted with the original

Biblical Hebrew, for, wherever Hebrew words are introduced in the New Testament, it is in the vernacular Syro-Chaldaic of the day. Even the solemn exclamation from the cross is not expressed in the words of the Psalmist; it is spoken in the vernacular dialect.' The hymn of the Virgin Mary is made up entirely of Septuagintal expressions, and bears internal evidence of having been originally composed in Greek. When our Lord stood up in the Synagogue at Nazareth, it was the Greek Bible from which he read. The ancient Hebrew was not understood by the common people, and the Chaldee paraphrase was not then written.

"There has been much dispute as to the original language in which the Gospel of St. Matthew was written. It was the belief of many amongst the earliest fathers and ecclesiastical writers that St. Matthew wrote it in the dialect of his country, the Aramæan, or modified Hebrew; and this opinion is strenuously maintained by many scholars in our own day. They of course regard our present Greek gospel as being a version only of the original work, though probably made in the lifetime of the Apostle himself. Others have as strenuously maintained that our present Greek Gospel is the work of the Apostle; whilst others have tried to assimilate the two views, by supposing that Matthew wrote both a Greek and Hebrew Gospel, though the latter has long been lost. But the patristic evidence on this point is confessedly both weak and contradictory; and if it can be proved that our Lord and his Apostles habitually spoke Greek, what necessity was there for a Hebrew Gospel at all? The strongest argument, however, against a Hebrew original is to be found in the Gospel itself. It possesses throughout all the characters of an original, and not of a translated work. Unlike the Septuagint, which is full of slavishly copied Hebraisms, the writer, while he writes in the same peculiar dialect of the Greek as the other gospels, avoids all awkward Hebraisms. His quota-

tions from the Old Testament sometimes follow the Septuagint, but much more often are more or less independent of it, and are adapted to bring out the idea which he desired to develop. He also very frequently uses the Greek imperfect, so as to give a beauty and precision to the meaning, which could not have been obtained by a literal translation from the Hebrew, and which is even frequently missed in our own English version. So that internal evidence derived from the study of the gospel itself is all on the side of its being the original, and not a translation. All the ancient versions, even the Peshito-Syriac, seem to have been made from the Greek; and the text of Dr. Cureton's garbled Syriac MS. may be most readily accounted for by supposing that a version of the Greek original was made at a very early period into Hebrew, and that this, with many omissions and interpolations, was the source whence the ancient version discovered by Dr. Cureton was derived."

Dr. Roberts, in conclusion, dwells on the importance of the issue at stake. He says, "I claim, then, to have established that our Lord and His Apostles constantly made use of the Greek language. And I affirm that throughout the whole of his public ministry, whether he addressed the rich or the poor, the learned or the ignorant, in the city or the country, our blessed Lord continually made use of the Greek language. Who would not feel a new interest in the beautiful words, if he felt beyond a doubt that these words, as they stand in our Greek Testaments, were the very words that proceeded out of our Saviour's mouth? Under the belief that our Lord spoke an Aramæan dialect, a charm has been given to the study of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee which they would not otherwise have possessed. But if I have succeeded in the leading argument of this work, it will be felt that a crowning glory was added to the Greek lan-

guage by its having been selected and employed by the Son of God. Many writers have dwelt on the delicate shades of meaning which are suggested in the discourses recorded in the gospels by the employment of different Greek words and tenses. But these observations will lose much of their force and propriety, if it be supposed that our Lord and his disciples spoke in Aramaic, and that we are only reading a translation of the words actually employed. Protestant writers insist much on the distinction between *petros* and *petra*, in the words addressed by our Lord to Peter (Matt. xvi.); and granting that these words were spoken in Greek, of which, I believe, there is no doubt, the contrast clearly indicated between them cannot be overlooked. The first means a stone, but the second a rock. But if our Saviour spoke in Aramaic the distinction vanishes, as we see in the ancient Syriac-Peschito, and also in the Curetonian Syriac, where the same term is employed in both clauses. The coincidences between the three first gospels, which are so frequent and striking, are at once explained if we believe that they all wrote in the same language which our Lord himself had spoken, and differing only, as all independent writers will, even in describing the same things. We still possess the very words which issued from His lips in our existing Greek gospels, and may thus feel that the Divine Redeemer is yet speaking to us in the same tones in which He addressed His contemporaries, and in which He will continue to teach, comfort, and instruct all succeeding generations."

So far Dr. Roberts, who has argued with all the energy and one-sidedness of a special pleader.

He has looked at the question from a wrong point of view. Educated himself entirely in Western prejudices, manners, and languages, he sees every thing through European spectacles. One of a nation descended from the great

Aryan or Indo-Germanic stock, and educated, according to our Western habit, in what are called the Classics, Greek and Latin, he naturally carries his Western notions and prejudices into a question that relates to perhaps the purest race of the East. Of course the Jews spoke Greek near two thousand years ago. How could it be otherwise? The Greeks had once overrun their land, and parcelled it amongst their generals. Is not Greek, also, the finest of languages? The Jews, then, would of course learn Greek at once from their conquerors, and speak henceforth nothing else. *Verbum sap.*

Now let us see what the Doctor had really to prove, and then we shall be the better able to realise how utterly he has failed. He undertook to prove to us that the Jews, the most obstinate and conservative race even of the unchangeable East, had almost ceased, even in their native land, in the days of their great Messiah, to speak their own language, linked as it was with all the glories of their race! that, instead, they then spoke the tongue of the Greeks, whom we know they looked on as aliens in blood, in religion, and language—the revilers of their ancient faith, and the bitterest persecutors of their nation. It is simply ridiculous to compare the Jews of Christ's time, near two thousand years ago, dwelling in their ancestral home, the land of their fathers, with the French Canadians of our day, or the Dutch colony at the Cape. It argues either a weak cause, or an entire misconception of the case, to make such a comparison. No such ties ever bound together any other nation of the world as united the Jews. Patriotism is a word too weak to express the feeling with which they clung to their country, to their law, and to their God. While the nations around wallowed in the filthy rites of heathenism, and worshipped gods and goddesses innumerable, they alone remained witnesses to, and worshippers of, the one invisible Jehovah.

They still dwelt in the land promised to their forefathers ; they worshipped in that temple on whose altar God had kindled the sacred fire. For them angels, aye God himself, had visited this earth ; and their prophets and sages had been inspired of God. The history of their race was bright with a long succession of miracles wrought by Him on their behalf. As the fleece of Gideon was wet, while all the earth around was parched and dry, so had their souls, amidst every vicissitude, been refreshed with dews from heaven. "He gave His law unto Moses, His statutes unto Israel." "Blessed wert thou, O nation beloved of Jehovah !" And they continued to cling, blindly indeed, and erringly, but with a love stronger than death, to the faith and the language of their fathers. "Whosoever hath his seat in the land of Israel, and eateth his common food with cleanness, *and speaks the Holy Tongue*, and recites his phylacteries morning and evening—let him be confident that he shall obtain the life of the world to come." So we read in the Mishna. The captive Jews by the waters of Babylon wept when they remembered Zion. And, forty years after Christ's death, Josephus tells that the Jews, in dying amidst all the horrors of the siege, strove to die with their faces turned towards the Temple. From every quarter of the earth the Jew still turns towards his holy city as he prays ; just as Daniel of old did in his chamber at Babylon. Again, they were a holy nation, a peculiar people, dedicated to Jehovah from their birth ; and these exclusive privileges, with the singular rites of their religion, begot in them intense pride and isolation. God himself was to them "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." The happiness of heaven was spoken of as "Abraham's bosom." It needed a vision from heaven to convince Peter that he had no right to call his fellow men "common" or "unclean ;" and he reminds even the proselyte Cornelius that "you know it is an



unlawful thing for a Jew to keep company, or to eat, with one of another nation" (Acts x. 28; xi. 3). And even the Greek Jew, Paul, though, to use his own words, "his bowels had been enlarged" to include the Gentiles, yet sorrowed over his people like a prophet of old. "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants (both old and new), and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came" (Rom. ix. 5).

But if such were the feelings of the born Jews, what were those of the Gentiles towards *them*? There was no great love lost among the nations of those days. The idea of a common humanity—of "one God and Father of all"—had not yet dawned on the world. The Greek and the Roman looked upon the swarming races of men around them as outer barbarians, to be outwitted, conquered, and robbed, but for whose religion or ancient story they cared little. Whilst the Jew, dwelling apart in proud isolation, and always rebelling against the yoke, was regarded, often with ferocious hatred, always with peculiar aversion. It was easy to stir up the populace to pillage, or even massacre the Jews, in any Greek or Roman city. The pages of Josephus are full of such ghastly narratives, like our own histories, even, alas! to our times. They are scarcely noticed as a nation in any Greek or Latin author before Cicero; and then it is only in terms of supercilious contempt and aversion. They are stigmatised in the pages of Diodorus Siculus and Tacitus, as having been "a race of loathsome lepers, who were expelled from Egypt;" who "alone, of all nations, held no intercourse with any other nation, and looked upon all men as their enemies." Cicero styles them "a nation born for

slavery." Not one of the contemporary Greek and Roman writers has a good word for them, though they mention the hatred which the Jews bore to their conquerors, and the patriotism with which they clung to each other. Nor surely did we need this evidence to learn that a large population, differing in race, language, and creed, in custom and thought, in all in which man can stand apart from man, from those who govern and coerce them, must bear as little sympathy with their conquerors as a caged beast with its keeper.

Even the history of our own island will afford us many illustrations of the absurdity and falsehood of Dr. Roberts's position. Did not William the Conqueror and his successors do their utmost to stamp out the Saxon name and the Saxon tongue? With how little success on the language of the people, let the version of Wycliffe, or our own authorised version, testify. Again, we have in our midst a truly remarkable race, whose origin is unknown, but who have been bound to us by the most friendly ties for the last six hundred years. I mean the Welsh. Yet it is still their boast that they speak the language in which their bards sung a thousand years ago. And this, not only amid their own mountains and hills, but in our cities. For they are dwellers amongst us, obliged to learn our English tongue—a bi-lingual race, and, therefore, admirable illustrations of Dr. Roberts's idea. But they will not serve his turn. For even to the second and third generations of those born and settled amongst us they intermarry together, and speak amongst themselves only in their own tongue. There are some thirty thousand of them, it is said, settled in Liverpool, all able to speak in English; yet they attend only their own chapels, where the services are conducted in Welsh; and they teach their children to speak at home the tongue of their fathers. My last servants, who were both Welsh, and

had been many years in England, yet left excellent situations in order to live together, and be within reach of a Welsh chapel. They read only Welsh books—the Bible included, for they are a peculiarly religious race—and they always spoke Welsh when together. Our English Established Church, it is well known, has been a complete failure amongst the Welsh, though backed by the power and wealth of their rulers. And when Christmas Evans arose amongst them, like our John Wesley, to preach a living faith, it was in their own native tongue that he stirred their souls.

Again, let us take the Greeks themselves, whose tongue Dr. Roberts supposes to have supplanted the Jewish in its native home. From the period of which he speaks, near two thousand years ago, until our own day, the Greeks have never ceased to speak their native tongue. Successive waves of conquest have passed over their land; they have been trampled down and held captive by conquerors who spoke Arabic, Turkish, and the Latin tongues. Their victors have striven to suppress the Greek, and so far with success, that we know our friend Gladstone, not being able to speak Greek, was fain to address the Ionian assembly in Italian, which many understand. But would any man in his senses infer that during the Greek war of independence their patriotic leader addressed them in Italian, or, worse, in Turkish, the tongue of their hated oppressors! We know that they cling to the Greek tongue with the utmost tenacity; their stranger-king has learned the language, and addresses them habitually in it. Their newspapers and books are printed in it. Yet it is not the speech of Homer and of Plato. It is a modern dialect, bearing the marks indeed of change, but so like the old tongue that the modern Greeks with very little help can read their ancient authors. They are in fact still taught in their boys' schools; and Simonides assured me that many, like

himself, could speak and write with facility both the ancient and modern Greek.

Thus the Greek church has never needed a translation. For near two thousand years it has rested content with the Septuagint—that ancient Greek version of the Old Testament which existed at the time of Christ—and for the New Testament they use the Greek Original. Yet the spoken language of Greece has probably changed far more in two thousand years than did that of the Jews between the days of Hezekiah, when we *know* they spoke Hebrew only, and those of Christ. Surely what is true of the Greeks may be allowed as likely to be true of the Jews!

But the strength of this argument is in fact intensified a hundred-fold when we consider the distinguishing characteristics of the two races. For the Greeks were the most flexible and imitative of all the Western nations. They were the greatest builders, artists, merchants, and colonisers of their time; ready to borrow new ideas from any quarter, shaping them into new forms of beauty and use. Thus they had borrowed the art of writing from the Phœnicians, and their oldest gods from Egypt and Assyria. They revelled in new forms of idol worship. At one time it was tauntingly said “there were more Gods than men in Athens.” And yet Dr. Roberts would have us believe that the tongue of this harlequin race had displaced the Holy Tongue, even in the Holy City; that Christ himself spoke the language of lewd idol-worshippers; and that the sacred books of the Jews, even in the synagogues of Judea, were mere Greek translations of the Hebrew Verity! If such were the case, how came it to pass that Paul found no worshippers of the One Invisible Jehovah in Athens? “The city was wholly given to idolatry”—and he was fain to draw his text from an altar dedicated “to an unknown God.” “Why!” the courteous

missionary of the new Faith might have said, "the Jews, my countrymen, have adopted your splendid language, forgetting their ancient tongue, consecrated though it was by a thousand memories. Instead of the language of David and Solomon, ancient Hebrew sages and heroes, they now speak that of Plato and Aratus. Even our sacred books are now read only in Greek translations. As we have adopted your language, why not in return adopt our faith?" I merely put forward the illustration to show the inherent absurdity of Dr. Roberts's position.

Let us see now what Josephus, the famous Jewish historian, almost a contemporary of our Lord [he was born A. D. 37], says of the Greeks. In his discourse against Apion, he says, "It is no new thing for many captive Jews to be seen often enduring racks and deaths of all kinds, rather than be obliged to say one word against our laws, and the records that contain them; whilst there is not one Greek to be found who would undergo the least harm on that account; no, not if all the writings among them were to be destroyed," &c. Dr. Roberts scarcely mentions Josephus; yet from his voluminous writings we should expect, if the Doctor's position were tenable, abundance of confirmatory evidence; for Josephus was a traitor to the Jewish cause.

Yet the only arguments favourable to his case that he can lay hold of are, (1) that all Josephus' extant writings are in Greek, and (2) that his quotations from Scripture are mostly from the Alexandrine version. Let us hear what Josephus says himself, and we shall see why Dr. Roberts is so chary in quoting from him. In his work *On the Jewish War, or the History of the Capture of Jerusalem*, finished about A. D. 75, he says (Book v. c. 9), "Titus, being sensible that exhortations are often more effectual than arms, persuaded the Jews to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to

*speak to them in their own language*, for he imagined that they might yield to one of their own countrymen." Again (Book vi. c. 2), "Titus now ordered his troops to rase the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and prepare an easy ascent for his whole force. On the 17th of Panemus, on which day he heard that the daily sacrifice, as it was styled, had ceased to be offered to God from want of men, and that the people were, in consequence, fearfully disheartened, he put Josephus forward, and directed him to deliver to John the same message as before. Josephus accordingly, standing where he might be heard, not only by John, but by many more, declared to them, *in the Hebrew language*, what Cæsar had given him in charge." Again, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, against Apion: "As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions, for I acted as general of those among us that are called Galileans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. At first I was kept in bonds, but was set at liberty afterwards, and sent to accompany Titus, when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge, for what happened in the Roman camp I saw and wrote down carefully; and what information the deserters brought [out of the city] *I was the only man that understood them*. Afterwards, I got leisure at Rome, and when all my materials were prepared for the work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of the transactions." Again, *Antiquities of the Jews* (Book xx. c. 11): "I am so bold as to say, now I have completed the work, that no other person could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation acknowledge that I excel them in the learning of the

Jews. I have also taken much pains to acquire the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, *although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue*, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness, for our nation does not encourage those who learn foreign languages, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods. But they give him praise for wisdom who is well acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning."

Again, Preface to the *Wars of the Jews*: "I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, *to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country*, and sent to the upper barbarians (namely Jews, Arabians, and Syrians). I, Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth an Hebrew, a priest, who fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards."

Surely these plain statements ought to settle the question at issue; for they show that the Jews as a nation were unable to speak Greek, knowing only their own tongue, and that even travelled Jews, like Josephus, born in Judea, spoke and wrote it with difficulty, and as a foreign language.

We have seen that when Josephus wrote for Jews he wrote in Hebrew, though these writings have perished. But a vast mass of Hebrew literature, embodying the canon and civil laws of the Jews, has come down to our time. This collection, the Talmud, embodies the decisions of numerous Rabbis, some of whom, as Hillel I., Simon b. Hillel, and Gamaliel I. (the teacher of St. Paul), were contemporaries of Christ. Now, if Greek had been the common language of Judea at the time, they surely would have come to us in Greek. But we have no reason to believe that they ever

existed in Greek, either as the original or a translation. And yet, as embodying those "traditions of the elders" spoken of in the New Testament, they have always been regarded with extreme veneration, and formed, next to the sacred text, the main study of every devout Jew.

Let us glance at the question for a moment as viewed in the light of philology. The two languages, Greek and Hebrew, were as unlike as the two races. I may remind you of the fact, that the modern Science of Language has grouped the languages of Europe and Asia mainly under two heads or families, the Aryan, or Indo-European, of which Sanscrit is the most ancient representative, and the Shemitic, or Syro-Arabian, of which Hebrew furnishes us with the most ancient monuments. These two representative classes of languages differ so entirely, both in grammar and vocabulary, that it is hard to conceive them as having ever been otherwise than separate. They stood as far asunder a thousand years before Christ as they do now. Humboldt (*Cosmos*, vol. 2.) has pointed out that the names given in 2 Chronicles ix. 10, 21, for the foreign merchandise imported by Solomon from Ophir (India), are all Sanscrit. Again: the Shemitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic) were confined for thousands of years to a narrow portion of South-western Asia. During this long period they continued unchanged, so that the Hebrew of Moses is identical with that of Malachi. They also differ very little from each other, less even than many dialects of the same tongue amongst Europeans. Whilst, on the other hand, the Aryan languages rapidly extended over the world, ever changing and forming new tongues.

Now the Greek language was one of the numerous derivatives from this primitive Indian stock, and differs in every thing that constitutes a language from the Hebrew; thus enormously increasing the difficulties of Dr. Roberts's



theory. And not only do these two great families of the human race differ in languages but in everything else.

The Aryan races have always shown a highly practical, adaptive, and expansive genius, intensely unlike the narrow spirit and exclusiveness of the Shemites. Starting from central India, they at length swept over all Europe, leaving everywhere traces of their literature, religions, manners and arts. The Shemitic races planted no colonies in Europe until long after the Christian era. The Aryans readily formed alliances and intermarried with other races. The Shemites have preserved the purity of their race with religious care. A large section of them, the Israelites, sojourned in Egypt, among people of a different race, for several centuries, yet they came forth at last as unmixed as oil that had floated on water. For the last two thousand years they have dwelt dispersed among the Gentiles, and yet they remain the same in feature, the same in faith and worship, they exhibit the same undying repugnance to all except those of their own blood, which characterised the Arab and the Jew when we first recognise their names in history. The Ishmaelite, or Arab, is the same in disposition, manners, language, government, and even in dress, as he was in the days of Moses. And the Arab Sheikh, and the encampment in the desert, furnish models to Doré or Holman Hunt for realising in our own day the life of the Hebrew Patriarchs. The rite of circumcision, itself a curious relic of primeval religion, is still performed by some Jews with a flint knife, just as it was in the "Stone Age." (See Kalisch's note on Exod. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2, margin.) The sacred books used in their synagogues are manuscripts only, written in their ancient tongue, without vowels, on the skins of clean animals, with a carbonaceous ink, with a reed pen, and they are preserved in long rolls, just as in the days of Moses and Ezekiel.

Again, the Aryans have been usually self-governing. They

They had republics, free governments, small and great. possessed ever since the dawn of history a drama, arts, sciences; they were great as architects, sculptors, painters. Always monogamic, yet had they gods many and lords many. They were always polytheists, delighting to image the Deity as embodied in a thousand human forms of power, grandeur or grace, and of both sexes. These ideas have even descended to and alloy the Christianity of our day.\*

But as to the Shēmites, their governments have always been despotic; they had no drama, no arts, no sciences; they were and are polygamists. On the other hand, they alone, throughout all ages, have worshipped one invisible God, alike the Father and Mother of all. It has been a part of their religion to carve no image, to paint no human likeness. Many a Jew, like R. Akiba, has recited, even in the agonies of a shameful death:—"Hear, O Israel! Jehovah is thy God. Jehovah is One!" It is the first lesson of the Koran, and the beginning of every Moslem prayer. "I testify that there is no Deity but God." Though the Jews, surrounded on all sides by idol-worshippers, bowed down once on a time to a golden calf, and again to a brazen serpent, they neither deified their heroes nor their kings, and the majesty of the deity was never degraded to human forms, which, of all idolatries, we know was by far the subtlest, the most attractive, and the most enchaining. So strict are the followers of Mohammed on this point, that the Rev. Moses Margoliouth tells us (*A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*, vol. 2.) he was accused in the East, both by Jews and Mohammedans, of having allied himself with idolators, because he had become a convert to Christianity! They drew their deductions from the rites of the Latin and Greek Churches—their votive

\* As these sheets are passing through the press a graphic illustration occurs. The newspapers announce that when the Princess Dagmar was admitted to the full communion of the Greek Church, "she kissed the sacred images."

shrines, the pictures and images. It will surely be conceded that the very repugnancy of the two races to each other, as well as the intense difference of language, would of itself be a formidable difficulty in the way of the adoption of Greek by the Palestinian Jews. If Dr. Roberts had been able to tell us that the Jews of Christ's times had so intense an appreciation of the beauties of the Greek tongue, that the wealthier sent their children to Athens to be educated, and that the Greek literature was well known to all classes of the Jews through translations into Hebrew, this would have been something to the point. All this and more might have been said of the Romans. Yet it would be taken for no evidence that the people of Rome, the Latin race, living in the country of their fathers, habitually spoke in Greek! Take another illustration. The French language is familiarly taught and cultivated amongst ourselves. French books abound. All educated persons are well acquainted with French literature. Many English authors have even written works in French. If Dr. Roberts's mode of argument be worth any thing, there would here be abundant evidence to some foreign writer, ages hence, that our Wesleys and Spurgeons must have spoken and taught in French! I have been putting the argument at the strongest, that we might the better see its absurdity. But the fact is that *Dr. Roberts, with all his industry, has not been able to adduce the slightest proof that the Palestinian Jews of Christ's time had any acquaintance whatever with the Greek language.* We have learned from Josephus that the Jews had no care to cultivate foreign tongues. The very languages of the heathen seemed to them defiled. In the last history of the Old Testament is preserved a touching story of Jewish patriotism. Nehemiah left even the court of Artaxerxes, all its honours and luxuries, that he might rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. There, he tells us, "I saw

Jews who had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab. And their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people." (That is, they spoke a mixed dialect.) "And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God; saying, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters to your sons, or for yourselves." (Nehemiah xiii. 28.) A very intolerant and extraordinary proceeding, certainly, does this seem, looking at it from our point of view! For the children only spoke a neighbouring dialect closely resembling the mother tongue. Yet to Nehemiah, all this savoured of association with idolators. The holy seed must be purified from foreign taint, at any sacrifice. And grimly does he record with what a vigorous hand he accomplished the reform. "Thus," says he, "I cleansed them from all strangers. Remember me, O my God, for good." Probably these are the last words of the Old Testament. Such is the spirit with which it closes. With the opening scenes of the New Testament, when a greater Jew than Nehemiah appeared four hundred years after to build up the spiritual Jerusalem, can we believe that he spoke to his countrymen, not in Hebrew, nor even in the closely allied Aramæan, but in Greek, the language of a far-off nation that Nehemiah had never heard of?

And the prayer of this patriotic Jew was heard. From that time, even till the coming of the Messiah, the Jews were no more swept away as a nation into captivity; the gates of Zion continued open, her priests sacrificed in their courses according to the law, the solemn feasts and the sabbaths were kept as of old. "And now for a little space grace had been shown from Jehovah their God, in leaving them a

remnant to escape, and giving them a nail in his holy place, that their God might lighten their eyes, and give them a little reviving from the bondage of their fathers." (Ezra ix. 8.)

On the overthrow of the Persian Monarchy, B. C. 333, by Alexander the Great, Palestine came for the first time into contact with and under the dominion of the Greeks. Under the Ptolemies, the successors of Alexander, they were on the whole little disturbed in their worship or their laws. But that execrable tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes, having been defeated by the Romans in Egypt, A. D. 168, turned upon the defenceless Jews. He entered Jerusalem on the sabbath, and robbed and massacred vast numbers of the people. He seized their women and children for slaves, destroyed the books of the law, and punished with death those who circumcised their children, or kept the sabbath. He stripped the Temple of its treasures, and erected within its holy place an altar to Jupiter Olympius. It was indeed for the Jewish nation a struggle for very existence. But in that dark hour broke forth a splendid outburst of national patriotism. Headed by the Maccabean family, the Jews succeeded in casting off the Grecian yoke, and preserving inviolate the name and faith of Israel. From that period until the accession of Herod (who himself married one of the race), this illustrious family held sway as priest-kings in Judæa. The Maccabees had early formed an alliance with Rome; and when their family dissensions at length brought Judæa completely under the Roman yoke, that sway was still a mild one; and the Romans neither forced their religion, their language, nor their laws upon the Jews.

From the days of Malachi and Nehemiah to those of Christ, the Hebrew Scriptures are a blank. And the readers of Dr. Roberts's book might infer, from his silence on the subject, that we have no credible information as to the religious life, literature, and language of the Jews during

the interval. But the case is far otherwise. The first care of Ezra was to instruct the people in "their most holy faith." It was their religion alone which could bind them together afresh as a nation. That lost, they were but a horde of slaves escaped from their late masters, whose very name would soon disappear from the earth. To this end he founded the Great Synagogue, as a new centre of religious life among them. The "Sopherim," as their first care, collected the Sacred Writings, and established the canon. They authoritatively expounded the Book of the Law, and regulated, by their decisions and teachings, the whole social and religious life of the Jews. From this beginning arose that vast literature which, at first transmitted orally, was at length, after the destruction of Jerusalem and final dispersion of the Jews, carefully committed to writing by successive Rabbis, and, with ever-increasing amplification, has descended to our times. As Talmud, it is divided into Mishna, or authoritative exposition, and Gemara, or the later supplements of Jerusalem and Babylon. As Midrash, or Exposition, it is divided into Halachah, or authoritative law, and Haggadah, or sayings, teachings, homilies. In these vast collections we find recorded the sayings and doings of the great leaders of Israel during the very lifetime of our Lord. Yet they are entirely written in Shemitic dialects, the older in literary Hebrew, the later portions in Aramaic. Not a single one of the innumerable Rabbinical writings and traditions has come down to us in Greek. Ample materials are thus furnished for judging of the state of national education, manners, and opinion in the days of our Lord. A few extracts will illustrate sufficiently the exclusive spirit of ancient Judaism. "Saith Abraham to God, Didst not thou raise up seventy nations unto Noah? God saith unto him, I will raise up that nation from thee, of whom it shall be written, How great a nation is it!" The

gloss is, "That peculiar people, excelling all the seventy nations; that holy nation, as the holy language excels all the seventy languages." "The holy, blessed God created seventy nations, but he found no pleasure in any of them, save Israel only." "A wise man (that is, one learned in the law of Moses) is to be preferred before a king; for if a wise man die, he hath not left his equal; but if a king die, any Israelite is fit for a kingdom." "The nations of the world are like to dogs." "The people of the earth do not live." The Talmudists speak very ill even of proselytes. After all, they were not of the Jewish stock. "Our Rabbins teach that proselytes and sodomites hinder the coming of the Messiah." "Proselytes are as a scab to Israel." The lawyer who asked Christ, "And who is my neighbour?" might well put the question, for he had been taught—The law "excepts all Gentiles when it saith 'his neighbour.'" Again, "An Israelite killing a stranger doth not die for it by the Sanhedrim, though it saith, 'If any one lift up himself against his neighbour;' he must not be condemned on account of a Gentile, for they are not to be esteemed as neighbours." In other places it is taught that the Jew was not bound to point out to a Gentile the right path, nor to save him from drowning, since their law as to neighbours did not apply, "for such an one is not thy neighbour." What Juvenal said of them was doubtless literally true:

Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti:

Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.

Into this Jewish world, then, was Christ born. He was the contemporary of three most illustrious teachers and presidents of colleges: Hillel I., his rival Shammai\* Simon

\* A curious story of these two famous teachers is told in the Babylon Gamara. "A Heathen came to R. Shammai as he was teaching, and offered to become a proselyte, if he might learn the whole law whilst he could stand upon one foot. But Shammai, who was a hot-tempered man, drove him away, as asking an impossibility. Then he went to R. Hillel, and he found him taking a bath. But

ben Hillel, and Gamaliel I., the teacher of Paul. To instruct their children in religion had been enjoined by Moses in the most solemn manner on Jewish parents (Deut. vi. 7-9). They were taught by heart large portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, especially the Commandments, the Shema, or declaration of the unity of God (Deut. vi. 4, 5), with which they commenced every act of devotion, their genealogies, &c., &c. Josephus says expressly that they gave no encouragement to the study of foreign languages or literature, but accounted him only wise who was learned in their law. "Our first care," says he, "is to educate our children." It was enjoined that, at five years, a boy should commence the study of the Hebrew Bible, at ten years the Mishna, at fifteen years the Gemara. Thus, the sum and substance of Jewish education was, after all, their Holy Scriptures, and the expositions of their Rabbis thereon.\* Accordingly, our Lord is represented as lingering behind his parents, when a boy of twelve years, forgetting his food, everything, that he might listen to the teachings of the Rabbis, and question them in his turn. Traces of the influence of Rabbinical teaching are to be found in abundance throughout His discourses; as any one may see who will carefully go through the numerous parallel passages to our Lord's teaching, from Rabbinical literature, given by Dr. Lightfoot, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*.

R. Hillel folded a sheet hastily around him, and hearing his question, he answered, 'Yes, my son; whatsoever thou wouldst not have done to thyself, that do not to thy neighbour. This is the whole law.' And he admitted him as a proselyte." Many other sayings of this enlightened Rabbi bear a striking resemblance to the teaching of Christ.

\* These hereditary interpreters of the oracles of God have indeed contributed more than we like to acknowledge to Christian exegesis. Many examples might be adduced from St. Paul's Epistles: as, when he says (1 Cor. x. 4) that the Israelites "drank of that spiritual rock that followed them," he refers to a well-known tradition, to be found in the Rabbinical writings, that the rock, from which water miraculously flowed, followed the Israelites through their forty years' journeyings, and gave forth water all the way. (See 2 Cor. xii. 2; Gal. iii. 19, &c.)



Every phrase in the Lord's Prayer was already familiar to the Jews. In the Gemara of Babylon we find the parable of Dives and Lazarus; also the parable of the wise and foolish virgins; in the Jerusalem Gemara the story of the husbandman and the vineyard. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely. And since these parallels to, nay, often sources of his teaching, were certainly delivered in Hebrew only, surely the probabilities are overwhelming against our Lord having uttered them in Greek!

Indeed, many an error besides this of Dr. Roberts might have been prevented by recognising the fact, with all its consequences, that Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew, who began and ended His life on earth within sight of their Holy City, Jerusalem. And throughout the gospels, if we will but look for it, everything is seen in an atmosphere of intense Judaism. During the period of the captivity, the Jews had intermarried with the idolatrous nations around them; so that, as Ezra records, weeping, the holy seed "have mingled themselves with the people of the lands; yea, the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass" (Ezra ix. 2). But the gospel of St. Matthew opens with an extended genealogy of Christ, to demonstrate that the holy seed by which He claimed descent had passed uncontaminated through all. Again, we Gentiles might have supposed that He, who had descended from the glories of highest heaven to the pains and sorrows of earth, would have also renounced all ancestral distinctions, as only so many minute degrees of littleness. But it was not so. He did not disdain to be invoked as "Thou Son of David" (Matt. ix. 27, xv. 22, and elsewhere). He himself urged His claim, on the ground of His royal descent, upon the Pharisees (Matt. xxii. 42, Mark xii. 35), and the people recognised it (Matt. xii. 23). The multitude shouted "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed be the King that cometh in the

name of the Lord!" as they conducted Him in triumph into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 9, Luke xix. 38). The children shouted it even in the temple, to the great displeasure of the Pharisees (Matt. xxi. 15). Probably it was partly the cause of their conspiring his death (John xi. 48). He re-asserted His regal claim before Pilate (John xviii. 37), and it was written in Hebrew over His cross. Let us consider Him, then, from a Jewish point of view, and remember that the multitude looked up to Him, not only for His miracles and his teaching, but as the heir to a long line of kings, descended, through both parents, from the most illustrious hero, king, and poet of their race! And yet Dr. Roberts would have us believe that this Hebrew of the Hebrews spoke to His countrymen, not in their own language, but in Greek! though the Greeks had been their last and direst persecutors, and whose overthrow by Judas Maccabæus was celebrated by Christ himself and His disciples at the Feast of Dedication (John x. 22).

"In all things it behoved Him to be made like to His brethren." Not the faintest allusion to Greek habits or literature is to be found in all His discourses. His sympathies are represented as thoroughly Jewish. Whilst a teacher amongst us draws his examples from the great of all ages and nations, Christ, in the character of a Jewish teacher, drew His illustrations entirely from the narrow pale of His own little race. In the same spirit Paul's list of worthies (Heb. xi.) are all of the Jewish stock, except one, "Rahab the harlot," and she was a proselyte. With the Jews, as the most isolated of all nations, their common descent from Abraham was ever present to their minds. And Christ uses their formula. "He also is a child of Abraham" expressed His approval of Zaccheus. As, when He represents Father Abraham repudiating Dives, it is the strongest condemnation. When he speaks of the outer Gentile world, it is

to point a rebuke or a warning: "for after these things do the Gentiles seek." "Let him be to thee as the heathen man and the publican." And when He first sent forth the twelve disciples, he commanded, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Whilst in Galilee he approached the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. A woman of Canaan entreated Him for her daughter: "Have mercy on me, O Lord! thou Son of David! my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil!" But He answered her not a word. And His disciples came and besought Him, saying, "Send her away, for she crieth after us." Then He answered, and said, "I am not sent, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Then came she, and worshipped, saying, "Lord, help me!" But He answered and said, "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs" (Matt. xv. 22). Surely it needs no argument to prove that these words of our Lord were not spoken in Greek, for they breathe the very spirit of Judaism. Note, also, that the disciples did not beg Him to grant the poor woman's request, but to rid them of her. And after all, Jesus did not expressly grant her petition. He speaks as though it had been unwillingly wrested from Him. Our Lord's mission was indeed, as He expressly proclaimed, to the Jews alone. He spoke of His Church as yet to be founded. "On this rock will I build my church." It is not until after the day of Pentecost, and the baptism of three thousand believers, that we read, "and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved" (Acts ii. 47). As Moses was not permitted to enter into the promised land, but only to look upon it from afar; so Christ led His followers only to within sight of the promised land, and then passed away, giving the keys wherewith to open the kingdom of heaven to others.

Still the question will naturally arise—If our Lord, as a Palestinian Jew, spoke only the Hebrew tongue, how has it come to pass that nearly all His recorded words have come to our time only in Greek? This is Dr. Roberts's main argument; but it is soon disposed of. The New Testament was not written, like the Old, for the insignificant Jewish nation alone, but for the world, and was therefore naturally compiled in that language which, as Dr. Roberts has well shown, was more universally spoken throughout the civilised world than any other. More than half of it was written by two Greeks, Luke and Paul, the first not even a Jewish proselyte. Besides, there is conclusive evidence that the first gospel, that of St. Matthew, was written in Palestine, and *in the vulgar Hebrew tongue*, as I shall show.

There is nothing more remarkable in the phenomenon than that Josephus should have written Jewish Histories in Greek; for even this highly educated and travelled Jew, as he tells us, was obliged to learn Greek to do so, and to engage persons skilled in the Greek language to assist him. We do not know what assistance the sacred writers employed, and therefore, apart from the question of miraculous aid, no argument can be drawn from the grammatical characteristics of the present Greek text. Again, our oldest MSS., as the *Codex Vaticanus*, are certainly not older than the fourth or fifth century. During the long interval that separates them from the original documents, the Gospels doubtless underwent much editing and correcting. And as the Jewish Christian Church had long since disappeared, the Gospels would get more and more Hellenised, and Hebrew words and idioms preserved in them would be eliminated. A curious proof of this tendency may be seen in the treatment of the word כֵּפָא *Kaïpha*, or Cephias, as it is in our version. The Apostle John, a

Palestinian Jew, tells us (i. 42) that Christ said, "Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas." Then we have a Greek gloss added, probably by a later hand, "which is by interpretation, A stone (Petros)"; but Mark (iii. 16,) and Luke (vi. 14,) only say that he named the Apostle "Peter." Luke, the Greek, always calls him Peter, yet we are sure that our Lord never called him anything else than "Kaiphas," "Simon," or "Simon bar Jona." Accordingly the Jew Paul *invariably* gives him the Jewish name conferred by Christ. It occurs four times in 1 Corinthians, and six times in the Epistle to the Galatians, but the later Greek MSS., even D of the sixth century, have in every place of the Galatians substituted Πέτρος, Peter. And yet Dr. Roberts lays it down very strongly, in many parts of his book, that we have no right to infer one single word to have been spoken in Hebrew, unless it is given so in the Greek. The parallel passages I have just quoted, show that we cannot infer anything positively merely from the Greek text; since one Apostle gives a Hebrew phrase actually used, whilst two others, recounting the same event, give only the Greek equivalent. Many other similar passages might be adduced. Mark (v. 41), "And he took the damsel by the hand and said unto her, *Talitha cumi*, which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, arise."\* Luke (viii. 54) has only, "And he took her by the hand, and called, saying, Maid, arise." Matthew (xxvi. 39), "And he prayed, saying, O my Father." Mark (xiv. 36), "And he said, Abba, Father." Matthew (xxviii. 8), "Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day." Acts (i. 18), "That field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama."

\* As this interpretation of the Hebrew words is erroneous, it has been evidently, though found in our oldest MSS., added to the original text by some one ignorant of the Hebrew language.

Matthew (xxviii. 33), "A place called Golgotha." Luke (xxiii. 23), "The place which is called Calvary."

(Acts ix. 4), "He heard a voice saying to him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" (Acts xxii. 7), "I heard a voice saying to me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Here we have two separate accounts of the vision on the road to Damascus, in both of which Christ is represented as addressing Paul in Greek. According to Dr. Roberts's principle, we have here two distinct and positive statements, either of which would be ample evidence that our Lord spoke only in the Greek tongue. What shall we then say to Paul's narrative before Agrippa? (Acts xxvi. 14), "I heard a voice speaking to me, and saying, *in the Hebrew tongue*, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Notice that, after all, the sentence is given only in Greek, and that the after conversation is reported in Greek, though we have now discovered it was in the Hebrew tongue! Remark also that our Lord addresses Paul by his Jewish name, שָׂאוּל Shaül, given imperfectly by the Greek. Σαούλ, for the Apostle was proud of having been named after the most distinguished man in the genealogies of his tribe. (Acts xiii. 21, Romans xi. 1.) As another example, we notice that the two first Gospels record only in Greek the inscription over the Cross. Luke and John, however, expressly state that it was also in Hebrew and Latin. John, the eye-witness, places the Hebrew first of the three, as was natural. Among the last words uttered by our Lord, a whole sentence is recorded in the common Hebrew dialect, the rest in Greek. Thence Dr. Roberts draws the conclusion that these were the only Hebrew words uttered, and that "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," even in his dying agonies, uttered alternately Greek and Hebrew sentences! Further, he argues, that because some of the bystanders mistook his

dying cry, Eli, Eli, for Elias, therefore these "inhabitants of Jerusalem did not understand that form of the national dialect, and must have been dependent for every purpose on their familiarity with the Greek language" (p. 140).

Let us test this notion by fact. On the occasion of St. Paul's last visit to the Temple, a riotous multitude gathered around, crying out that he had brought Greeks into the Temple, and had defiled their Holy Place! (Acts xxi. 28). And, dragging him forth into the Temple area, they would doubtless have beaten him to death. But Claudias Lysias, the commandant of the garrison, hastened to quell the riot. He rescued Paul, and drew him forth from their murderous hands, yet the multitude still cried out, "Away with him." Then Paul, turning to the officer, addressed him respectfully in Greek, saying, "May I speak with thee?" Now, if the officer had been in the constant habit of hearing the Jews in Jerusalem speak Greek, he would have taken this as a matter of course. But he was evidently surprised, and exclaimed, "Canst thou speak Greek?" Then the Apostle entered into a particular explanation, telling him that, though a Jew, he was a Greek by birth; and requested permission to address the Jews. This granted, he at once changed his language, and delivered a speech to his brethren after the flesh in the Hebrew tongue. There is no need for laboured comment. This narrative alone, taken in its plain sense, appears to me sufficient to overthrow all Dr. Roberts's elaborate arguments.

As a further answer to the question, why the sayings of our Lord are preserved to us only in Greek, let us remember that our Lord was born a Jew; lived his brief life in the Holy Land, a Jew; and died there, a Jew. But the case was very different with the Apostles. They were sent forth to all the world, proclaiming the glad tidings, beginning, indeed, at Jerusalem. The church was at first an exclusively

Jewish one, but in a few years became as exclusively Gentile. The children of the kingdom had been left behind in darkness. The Apostles went forth, pursued by the hatred of their countrymen, to convert strangers, with whom, as Jews, they had neither part nor lot; whom their education had taught them to consider unclean, and with whom it had prohibited all communication as a crime. They went forth, counting all other things as dung, that they might win to Christ. They no longer addressed themselves to the Jews, and they naturally chose that language, already, perhaps, not altogether unknown to them, by which they could approach the largest number of readers and hearers. If they wrote in Hebrew, it would reach only a narrow circle, ever growing narrower. They had drawn the sword for a never-ending contest with all they once prized; they could well afford to throw away the scabbard.

Dr. Roberts draws a fresh argument from the use of the Septuagint by the New Testament writers. In three cases out of four, when they quote from the Old Testament, it is in the words of this old Greek version. Some phrases from it occur in the Hymn of the Virgin Mary (Luke i. 46-55). Here is proof positive, says Dr. Roberts, that it was uttered in Greek! A very likely thing, truly! Mary, doubtless, gloried in tracing back her lineage to David, whose memory was infinitely precious to the Jews, as their national hero; like the Cid to Spain. Aye, far more; for, was he not the great poet of their nation, as well as their most illustrious hero and king? Yet even this daughter of David, when inspired by the hope of being the Mother to the long-expected Messiah, who should free them from their enemies, and establish a throne more glorious than that of Solomon, at such a time, of all others, gave vent to her feelings, according to Dr. Roberts, in a Greek song! Her lips uttered only the language of the oppressors of her race,



of idolators and uncircumcised, whom she had been taught to despise from her youth! It is not too much to say that such an idea could never have entered the brain of a Jew, unless all his ancient prejudices had been bleached out of him. The Hymn of Praise of the Jewish Maiden is founded on Hannah's Song of Thankfulness (1 Sam. ii. 1-10), and Leah's, on the birth of Asher (Genesis xxx. 18). It shows, also, a knowledge of the Psalms, Prophetical writings, and Books of Moses. And in transcribing the Hymn, Luke, who was a Greek and a Gentile too, would naturally use the corresponding expressions in the ancient Greek version, with which alone he was familiar.

Dr. Roberts has strangely overlooked the origin of this version. In the time of Christ numerous Jewish colonies existed in different parts of Asia and Egypt. Many of these had remained from the Captivity. Others were planted by the Macedonian kings, in the Greek cities they founded. The Temple at Jerusalem was still the acknowledged centre of Judaism, and the devout Jew everywhere contributed the half-shekel towards its maintenance. The Jews of Babylonia spoke an Aramaean dialect, but great numbers, no doubt, adopted the Greek as their vernacular. This Hellenising spirit had its freest development in the great sea-port of Alexandria, where the Jews had settled in large numbers in the time of Alexander and the early Ptolemies. For their use, then, was prepared, during the third century before Christ, that translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Alexandrine Greek which is called "the Septuagint." It early supplied the place of the inspired original to the Greek Jews, and afterwards to the Christian Church. But it was regarded from the first by the Jews of Palestine with intense dislike. They even instituted a fast-day to commemorate the origin of so great a calamity! It is said in the Jerusalem Talmud:—"That day was bitter to Israel

even as the day when the golden calf was made. For the Law could not be translated according to all things proper for it." Dr. Roberts would have us believe that Christ Himself read from this Greek version, when He stood up in the Synagogue at Nazareth, because the passage of Scripture is given by Luke (iv. 18) from the Septuagint. But if the Greek translation had thus usurped the Hebrew Verity, even in the synagogues of Judæa, of course the change would be still more complete out of the Holy Land. How comes it, then, that *not a single copy of the Septuagint has been found in a Jewish synagogue*, or has ever been traced as derived from one? The ancient MSS. of it which we possess have all been obtained from Greek monasteries. Again: if, in the Holy Land itself, nineteen hundred years ago, and in a time of peace, this Greek version had taken the place of the Hebrew Scriptures, even in the service of the synagogues, three events must also have occurred. First, a new school of Jewish expositors would have sprung up, using the new version, commenting on it, and writing in Greek. I need scarcely add, no trace of such a school exists.\* Second, the Hebrew Scriptures would have utterly disappeared. Instead of which, every synagogue, every library, throughout the world affords us a ready contradiction to Dr. Roberts's theory. Lastly, the traditional interpretation of the Hebrew text must have been lost. The Hebrew, like other Shemitic alphabets, has no true vowel letters; the reading, therefore, and, to some extent, the interpretation, of the sacred text was purely traditional, handed down from age to age. A single break in the tradition, and it would have been lost altogether. But in the sixth or seventh century after Christ the Jews contrived a most complex system of dots and marks, which, superadded to the letters, fixed at once in the most precise manner the pronunciation, the accentua-

\* Philo is no exception to the rule. He was a Greek Jew of Alexandria, not a Palestinian Jew.

tion, and division of the sacred text: conclusive proofs of an uninterrupted traditional knowledge of the literary Hebrew, down to the seventh century, when that knowledge was, happily, fixed for ever. Whence, again, are derived the Keris and Kethivs, the Massora, except from an uninterrupted tradition? We owe, indeed, a debt of gratitude to the Jews which we can never repay, for having preserved, through all time, through bitter persecutions, Pagan and Christian, the precious records of God's dealings with their favoured race. Whatever may be justly laid to their charge, that of neglecting their sacred Books, or undervaluing the tongue in which they were written, is not amongst them. They delighted to number even the separate letters, and to find new mysteries in them. In the Jerusalem Gemara, we read:—"The Book of Deuteronomy came, and prostrated itself before God, and said, 'O Lord of the universe, Thou hast written in me Thy law, but a testament defective in some part is defective in all. Behold, Solomon endeavours to root the letter yod (י) out of me (viz., in the text לא ירבה נשים, 'He shall not multiply wives.' Deut. xvii. 17). The holy, blessed God answered, 'Solomon, and a thousand such as he, shall perish, but the least word shall not perish out of thee.'" And with this agrees the saying of Christ (Matt. v. 18), "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law till all be fulfilled." The reference is to the written text of the Law, "one yod" (י), the smallest letter of the square Hebrew alphabet; "or one keraia," the minute strokes, or tagginin, by which very similar looking letters in that alphabet differ from each other. Surely Dr. Roberts had overlooked this passage, which conclusively proves that they were *Hebrew MSS.* of the Law to which Christ referred.

It ought to be remembered, to the eternal credit of the Jews, that they showed the greatest eagerness to take

advantage of the newly-discovered art of printing, in multiplying the sacred text. They printed and published an edition of the entire Hebrew Scriptures as early as A. D. 1488, which was rapidly followed by others. Whilst the Christians, with all their pretended zeal for God's Word, did not publish a single edition of the Greek New Testament before A. D. 1516.

Even the Moslems use to this day only the original Arabic text of the Koran, now twelve hundred years old, avoiding all translations as a sin. Yet in Judæa, two thousand years ago, the Messiah Himself read, even in the Synagogue, a mere translation of the sacred Books, according to Dr. Roberts!

Another living refutation of his theory, and peculiarly appropriate, is furnished us by the Samaritans, a fragment of the Ten Tribes existing even to our own day, who still inhabit the little town at the foot of Mount Gerizim, just as they did in the days when Christ sat by Jacob's well, and (to the astonishment of his disciples) talked to the Samaritan woman. Even this, the smallest sect in the world, intermarry not with their neighbours, practise in all strictness the law of Moses, and preserve with almost idolatrous veneration a most ancient copy of the Law, which they believe to have been written by Amram, the great-grandson of Aaron. I know nothing more touching than Mr. Groves' description of the Synagogue at Nablous on the great day of Atonement.\* "As the sun set, the service of that solemn fast-day began. All the little community who were able to endure it were assembled there, men, women, and children. The elder priest began, in a measured chant, to recite the Book of the Law, beginning with the first verse of Genesis, . . . the congregation following; and, in this way, they actually went through the

\* *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1861*, p. 843.

entire five books of Moses, without once stopping to take refreshment or even to touch water, prostrating themselves at certain solemn places, such as the Ten Commandments, or the Shema, the great declaration of the Unity of God. The lights often burned dimly, but this mattered little, for the two priests, and some also of the people, knew the whole Torah by heart. When, at length, the two grand songs with which Deuteronomy concludes were ended, the priests retired behind the veil, and again came forth, clad in green satin, and produced the two great rolls, in ancient silver cases of much beauty. This was the signal for fresh prostrations and prayers. Then came the great event of the day, nay, of the year—the uncovering of the sacred rolls. Turning towards their ancient holy place on Mount Gerizim, the priests held them up over their heads, in the sight of all the congregation. Every one fell prostrate, and then, ere the rolls were returned to their resting place, they pressed forward to kiss, to touch, or, if none of these were possible, to gaze on the precious treasure.”

Another great difficulty in Dr. Roberts's path is to explain away such phrases as “Jew and Greek,” as of things intensely opposite to each other. They represented to the Palestinian Jew the impassable barrier between the holy race and idolators. In the New Testament they are often used as if including the whole world. “All they who dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks” (Acts xix. 10). “I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek” (Rom. i. 16). Such passages can only be explained by recognising—(1) the general diffusion of the Greek language in the surrounding countries, so that Jew + Greek = their world; (2) that Greek and Gentile were synonymous; (3) that Jew and Greek were antagonistic. It would have been strange indeed if it had been otherwise.

The Jews alone possessed a Religion worthy of the name. A single psalm was worth more than all the glories of Greek literature. They were a holy nation, a separate people, a kingdom of priests, dedicated from their birth to the one true God; the solitary light in the midst of heathen darkness. It is impossible to exaggerate the horrible depravity of morals and manners which existed amongst all classes in the Greek and Roman world at the advent of our Lord. Their very gods were represented as monsters of lust and cruelty, whose shrines and temples were scenes of the most disgusting orgies, and profligacy the most shameless. The prostitution of boys and maidens had become a part of religious celebrations. Infanticide, sodomy, the most unnatural vices and crimes were openly practised by all classes. As to the Greeks in particular, Pliny designates them as the inventors of every vice. (See Dollinger—*The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ.*)

The great Jewish Festivals, but especially the Passover (Acts xx. 17), attracted vast numbers of foreign Jews to Jerusalem (Josephus, *Antiquities*, vi. 9, 3). Four hundred and eighty synagogues, it is said, were provided for their accommodation. Those of the Cyrenians, Libertines, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and Asiatics are mentioned (Acts vi. 9.) They were doubtless looked upon with supercilious contempt by the Jews of the Holy Land. If they spoke the holy tongue, it would be with a foreign accent, so hateful to the born Jew. The Babylonian Jews they acknowledged of as pure blood as their own. But the Greek Jews were regarded as an inferior race, impure in their blood; coming from nations most heathenised, from unclean regions, where the very dust of the land defiled. (See Lightfoot's note to John vii. 35, in *Hore Talmudicæ.*) We can readily see that the early Christian church at Jerusalem, formed out of such materials, would contain, at starting, the elements

for internal division and discord. Thus, it came to pass (Acts vi. 1) that a dispute arose, the Greek Jews (*Ἑλληνισταί*) complaining to the Apostles that their widows (= poor) were neglected in the daily distribution of alms. To remove any just ground for complaint, the Apostles appointed seven Greek Jews (as appears by their names) to the office of deacon, to represent the Hellenistic party in the church. The "Hebrews" were already represented, the Apostles, for instance, were of this party. A strange, unaccountable occurrence, this, if Greek was the common language of all! To get rid of the plain inference from this narrative, Dr. Roberts contrives a highly artificial and far-fetched explanation. The "Grecians," according to him, were not Greek-born, Greek-speaking Jews, as the plain words would imply, but the liberal party among the Jews; whilst the "Hebrews" were not the native Palestinian Jews, speaking the Hebrew tongue, but the bigoted party, the opposers of all Greek or liberal policy! Now, nothing was so likely to produce the misunderstanding as dissimilarity of language and of country, and the foreign Jews would naturally be sensitive as to any slight or neglect. But what are we to make of the distinctions fancied by Dr. Roberts? Not being able to grasp or comprehend them, I shall leave them in their original obscurity.

Another illustration favourable to his cause he tries to extract from the coinage current in the time of our Lord. This, no doubt, bore Greek (and Latin) inscriptions. But the Jews at that period had no national coinage. Only at one period of their history did they coin money. That was in the days of the Maccabees. Under those patriotic rulers, one of the first signs of their restored nationality was the appearance of a Hebrew coinage. From B.C. 149 to B.C. 87, twenty-eight coins are known to have been struck, all bearing Hebrew inscriptions, such as *שקל ישראל*, "shekel of Israel,"

ירושלם קדשה, "Jerusalem the Holy." During the last considerable revolt against the Romans, under Eleazar and Simon Giorias, when Jerusalem was in possession of the Jews for but four years, a national coinage, with Hebrew inscriptions, again appeared, struck over Roman coins !\*

Once more, if, as Dr. Roberts asserts, the Greek language displaced almost entirely the Hebrew in Palestine, so as to become the common spoken language in the days of our Lord, how comes it to pass that we find no trace of it in the vernacular of the country at the present day? The entire disappearance of a tongue once universally spoken by any great race, especially a Shemitic one, which changes so little from age to age, and dwelling still in the fatherland, would be a phenomenon absolutely unexampled in history. Under the Greek kings, many of the old Shemitic names of places were replaced by Greek ones. But these have long since entirely disappeared, and the old Bible names are heard almost as in the days of yore. Mr. Grove (*Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travels*) and Rev. John Mills (*Three Months' Residence at Nablous*) state that there is only one exception to this in all Palestine. If Arabic has become, since the spread of Islam, the common vernacular of Syria, it must be remembered that we are speaking of a Shemitic tongue, closely allied to the Hebrew and the Aramæan, which it has almost displaced.

Forty years after the death of Christ, Jerusalem was a mass of ruins, and the Jewish race in the Holy Land was nearly swept from the earth. Thenceforth the sorrowful remnant have been wanderers in strange lands, persecuted and down-trodden, their name a bye-word and a reproach. It would have been no wonder if, amid such a struggle for existence, they had lost all trace of nationality, and become assimilated to the nations amongst whom they dwelt. But

\* Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*; London, 1804.



they have clung with a deeper love than ever to the faith and the tongue of their fathers. They have produced, during the last eighteen hundred years, a brilliant succession of writers, each of whom has laid his choicest offering on the altar of his Faith. Commentaries, translations of the Old Testament into Aramaic and Arabic, grammars, lexicons, concordances, and religious poems—these constitute the principal items in the vast succession of Jewish literature. And when, at the revival of learning, Christian scholars began once more to study the sacred originals, they obtained from the Jews the most invaluable and ready assistance in learning to read and understand the Hebrew Scriptures.

Wherever there are large numbers of Jews congregated together, as in Russia and Germany, they restore the colloquial use of Hebrew, and employ it as their familiar tongue. Their letters are written in it; their magazines are printed in it. In the Rev. Moses Margoliouth's work (*A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*; London, 1850), excellent illustrations of the use of Hebrew by the Jews throughout Europe and Asia will be found on every page. He writes Hebrew letters to his brother, mother, and father, Polish Jews at Warsaw. He took with him the New Testament, in Hebrew, for circulation amongst the Jews everywhere. On board the steamer he found other Jews, on a pilgrimage to their fatherland. He says, "I watched with intense interest the devout performance of morning prayers by my Jewish fellow-passengers. Regardless of the scoffings and mockings of the mob, they put on their large talith and broad phylacteries, and, with eyes turned towards the holy places, they mentally abstracted themselves from all around them, and, for upwards of two hours, held communication, according to the best of their belief, with Israel's God." An aged Jewess, he says, moved him to tears, as she sang the beautiful Hebrew Passover Hymn, full of hopes that the

Messiah would soon appear, and God's temple be rebuilt.—The Jews at Safet (Tiberias) had drawn up a petition to Queen Victoria in the Arabic-Hebrew idiom. He mentions as one of the fundamental principles of the Karaite Jews, that "a believer must know the language and the interpretation of our Law." At Hebron he held a long controversy with two rabbis, one from India, in the Hebrew language. At Jerusalem, a clever Jewish improvisatore charmed him by reciting, impromptu, a long poem in Hebrew, on a subject given. At a marriage feast, Hebrew songs were sung, and he interested the officiating rabbi much by quoting, in Hebrew, from the New Testament, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

Thus, then, we have seen that this language, the very oldest form of human speech of which we have any existing record, is spoken even in our own day as it was at the earliest dawn of written history. And Dr. Roberts's theory is reduced to the naked absurdity that, at a certain period during the last four thousand years, God's ancient people, *just for a short time*, sufficient to suit a theory, ceased to speak the language of their forefathers, linked as it was with all the glories of their race! That this occurred, too, in their own land, in the days of the Messiah, who spoke to His countrymen in the language of enemies, idolators, and aliens!

#### ON THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

If, then, it be conceded as proved, that the Jews of Palestine still spoke in our Lord's time the language of their forefathers, that is, Hebrew, our present task will be a very easy one. We know that St. Matthew was a Palestinian Jew. His gospel is placed the first in all the ancient MSS., and in the very ancient Canon of Scripture, published by

Muratorì. The oldest Christian writers also with one voice assert that this gospel was the first written, and that it was specially prepared for his own countrymen. It would be strange, indeed, if there were no Jewish gospel amongst the four! There is quite an Eastern contempt for chronology in the Historical books of the New Testament; however, we must suppose some years to have elapsed between the events recorded in the first and those in the eleventh chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. The first presents us with a picture of our Lord after his resurrection, surrounded by his Apostles. Their pleading question, "Lord, wilt Thou not at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" is full of the old, exclusive Judaism. But he sent them forth to restore and to plant a spiritual Israel, (1) in Jerusalem, (2) next in Judæa, (3) thirdly, in Samaria, (4) lastly, to the utmost parts of the earth (Acts i. 8). Observe the order of progress; and from Acts viii. 1, also xv. 2-4, how long the Apostles clung exclusively to Jerusalem. Even the disciples scattered abroad "preached the word to none but to the Jews only" (Acts xi. 19). In the last glimpse that we obtain of the church at Jerusalem, we are told that the Apostle James, after gladly welcoming Paul, addressed the then veteran soldier for Christ thus:—"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are who believe, and they are all zealous for the Law." Then follows a graphic picture of Jewish exclusiveness (Acts xxi. 20-25). It is evident that the Greek Jew, Paul, was still looked upon with suspicion, even in the Christian church at Jerusalem, as an outsider, a man who had cast in his lot wholly with the Gentiles, and not with the Jews. But during all those years the history and doctrines of Jesus had been proclaimed, and the Apostles had been repeating constantly their witness to His resurrection. Surely, it had already shaped itself into a written gospel, and this would be in the tongue our Lord Himself

spoke! There is so peculiar a fitness in this, that it is hard to avoid believing it. The various Societies in our day for propagating the Gospel among the Jews have translated the New Testament into the Hebrew tongue that it might find a more ready acceptance with them. Would not the need be far greater for a Hebrew Gospel near two thousand years ago, in their own land, in the first age of the church, and when we know that church was exclusively Jewish?

We might then conclude, on presumptive evidence only, that the first Gospel was a Hebrew one, and that the present Greek Gospel is a translation from it. Now, if we add that the earliest ecclesiastical writers, who say anything about the subject, all with one voice assert the very same thing, and that one of them, St. Jerome, a peculiarly competent witness, expressly asserts that he had seen and used the Hebrew original, it appears to me that the evidence is absolutely overwhelming. We shall now give a selection from these witnesses.\*

1. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, about A. D. 118, who was a contemporary of the Apostle John, wrote thus:—*Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο· ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἑκαστος.* (Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 39.)

“Matthew, indeed, wrote the Oracles in the Hebrew dialect, but everyone interpreted them as he was able.” By this he doubtless meant that *he* was not aware of one generally recognised and authoritative Greek translation.

2. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, died about A. D. 202, was instructed by Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who had been himself a disciple of the Apostle John:—*Ὁ μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος*

\* These quotations are extracted from the admirable Essay on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, by Dr. S. P. Tregelles, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1850. The originals are also given by Dean Alford in his Preface to the Gospel.

ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου. (Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* v. 8.)

“Matthew accordingly, among the Hebrews, put forth also a scripture (or writing) of the Gospel in their own dialect.”

3. Pantænus was head of the catechetical school, at Alexandria, towards the end of the second century. Eusebius relates thus of him :

Ὦν εἰς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος, καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται· ἔνθα λόγος εὗρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν· οἷς Βαρβολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἓνα κηρύττει. αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι, τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν· ἦν καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον. (*Hist. Ecc.* v. 10).

“Of whom Pantænus also was one, and it is said that he went to the Indians. The account is, that he found there the Gospel of Matthew, which was there prior to his arrival, amongst some who had received the knowledge of Christ, to whom Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached, and that he had left behind the scripture of Matthew, in the Hebrew letters themselves; and that it was preserved up to the time in question.”

4. Origen, the most learned Ecclesiastical writer of the third century.—“Ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων ἃ καὶ μόνα ἀναντίρρητά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτὲ τελώνην. ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαΐσμου πιστεύουσι, γράμμασι Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον.” κ.τ.λ. (Quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 25.)

“As I have learned by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without question in the Church of God under heaven; that the first written was that according to Matthew, formerly a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ; and that he gave it forth to those

who had believed from Judaism, composed in Hebrew letters."

5. These extracts from Greek writings now lost are given by Eusebius, the earliest Church Historian, who lived A.D. 264–340. He writes thus himself :—‘*Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κυρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλε καὶ ἐφ’ ἑτέρους ἰέναι, πατρίᾳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδούς τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, τούτοις ἀφ’ ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀνεπλήρου.*’ (*Hist. Ecc.* iii. 24).

“Matthew, having previously preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go also to others, delivered to them the Gospel according to him in the tongue of their fathers, and filled up to those from whom he went, by his writings, the want of his own presence.”

Epiphanius, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Naziansen and Augustine, all writers of the fourth century, testify to the same effect. Jerome, however, in the same century, supplies us with further details of peculiar interest. He says :—“*Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judæa propter eos, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis litteris verbisque composuit, quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ, quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque à Nazarenis qui in Beroëa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit.*”—(*De Viris. Illus.* c. iii.)

“Matthew, also called Levi, first a publican, then an Apostle, was the first who wrote a Gospel in Judea, in the Hebrew letters and language, for those of the circumcision who had believed. It is not known who afterwards translated it into Greek. Moreover the Hebrew itself is still in the Library at Cæsarea, which Pamphilus the Martyr collected with great care. I too was permitted by the Nazarenes

of Beroea, a city of Syria, who use this volume, to take a copy."

In several other places of his writings, this most learned of the Latin fathers repeats the same testimony. Many more extracts from the early Greek and Latin fathers might have been given, but, as they are all unanimous, it seems useless. As Dr. Tregelles says, it was as much a point of common belief in the first ages that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, as that he wrote a gospel at all. We gladly receive their testimony as to the one fact, why should we reject it as to the other? It adds much also to the strength of their evidence, that their own prepossessions would be all in favour of a Greek original. No wonder Dr. Roberts admits (*Op. cit.* p. 327), "At first I felt almost compelled, by the force of evidence, to adopt the conclusion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew only." He might have left the reputation of this scanty fragment of a literature to the first Christian church. Why it was not more extensive may readily be imagined. The church for which it was written had but a brief existence, and then disappeared altogether. The Hebrew-speaking Jews had the opportunity of continual reference to the personal testimony of the Apostles, but the Greek-speaking Jews were only casual visitors at Jerusalem, and needed the written word to take back with them into far distant lands, or to be sent to them there. The entire disappearance of the Hebrew original is readily accounted for: originally written for the Hebrew Christian church, on the dissolution of that church, it became a mere literary curiosity, and a Greek translation (made doubtless in apostolic times by some Jewish christian, as is evident by the numerous Hebraisms in the Greek text), rapidly supplanted it. We have an exact parallel in the 1 Maccabees, which has come down to our time only in Greek, though it was written in Hebrew about 102 B.C. The Hebrew original still existed in St. Jerome's time, and his

notice is the last trace we have of its existence. Again, the "*Wars of the Jews*" has come down to us in a Greek text, as old as the first century. But we know from Josephus's own words that he originally wrote the work in Hebrew.\*

Though the direct evidence, then, is all one way, and the objections are of a kind that disappear as soon as they are looked fairly in the face, yet it must be acknowledged that of late years, especially in this country, it has been the fashion to maintain the present Greek text of St. Matthew's Gospel as that written by the Apostle himself, and to discredit altogether the idea of a Hebrew original. This opinion, first broached by Erasmus, has found great favour amongst Protestants, especially those who hold the Verbal Inspiration theory of Scripture. They cannot conceive of a translation as inspired. But they conveniently forget that not one in ten thousand can read fluently the original texts of holy scripture; the vast majority must take their notions of the Bible from translations alone. Besides, there are many translations in the bible itself, such as Luke's Greek version of St. Paul's Hebrew speech to the Jews, Acts xxii. 1-21. What evidence have we that this Greek translation is inspired, more than we have for the divine authority of the present Greek text of St. Matthew's Gospel? We receive both, because they were received by the universal church, in all ages, as authentic scripture. But the very same authorities, as with one voice, assert that St. Matthew wrote his gospel in the Hebrew tongue. What right have we to receive their testimony on one point, and to reject it on another?

Perceiving, then, that all ancient evidence is against this

\* A curious parallel case occurs in English literature. Every one has read Beekford's famous story of *Vathek*. I have seen many editions of it, but they were all in English. The English text bears no marks of being a translation, and it is generally received as the original. It was also written by an Englishman. Yet we know from Beekford's own words that he wrote it in French! and that he never knew who was the clever translator of a work, still highly popular in the English version, whilst the original has long since been forgotten.



modern notion, and yet sympathising with it, Dr. Roberts comes to the rescue with a theory, which, if it could be sustained, would certainly be a great accession of forces. For he would have us believe that the Palestinian Jews of Christ's time were a bilingual race. This, to begin with, is a clumsy and unnatural expedient. I take it as incontrovertible, that you cannot equally stir a man in two languages. If you wish to reach his heart by the directest channel, it must be through the accents that he has heard at his mother's knee, the speech of childhood and of youth. Dr. Roberts is unwillingly forced to admit that they spoke Hebrew, for the New Testament expressly tells us so, but he contends that they generally used Greek, as being their favourite tongue! He quietly ignores the abundant evidence contained in the New Testament, of the intense antagonism between the native Hebrew race and the Greeks. (See Acts xxi. 28, &c.) There was every element of nationality to embitter the conflict. The Greeks were aliens in blood, in religion and language. It was a common proverb, "Cursed is he that keepeth swine! cursed is he that teacheth his son the wisdom of the Greeks!" And they extended this dislike even to the Greek-speaking Jews, like Paul, who were, under God, the true planters of Christianity in the world (Gal. ii. 7).

In conclusion, I have attempted to discuss, within the limits of a short paper, the arguments of a bulky volume. If I have in any point failed, it has been for want of space, not of materials. Dr. Roberts, on the contrary, has doomed himself to a task harder than that of the Israelites in Egypt. They were condemned to make bricks without straw; he has attempted to build up a durable structure without bricks at all!

## SEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, January 22nd, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members:—Messrs. W. W. Raffles, W. St. Claire, and L. S. Cohen.

The CHAIRMAN said it was only proper he should allude to the loss which the world of art had sustained in the then reported death of our townsman, Mr. John Gibson, R.A., who had done much to render Liverpool famous as the nursery of his great genius with respect to the art of sculpture. Mr. Gibson was not born in Liverpool, but he was removed here at a very early age. He was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker in Ranelagh-street. In one of the newspaper accounts there was, the Chairman said, a slight disarrangement of the sequence of Gibson's history. It was owing to Roscoe that he was taken into the studio of Mr. Franceys, whose principal business was the manufacture of chimney-pieces and monuments, and who, finding Gibson's great talents, purchased his articles from his previous employer, and gave him facilities for study. At that time he executed some very beautiful bas-reliefs. Through the influence of Mr. Roscoe, a fund was formed for the purpose of enabling Mr. Gibson to proceed, in the year 1817, to Rome, where he remained, except when on occasional visits to this country. The Chairman referred to an interesting visit he paid about two years since to Mr. Gibson at Rome, and remarked that Mr. Gibson was a man whose memory they might delight to honour, from the fact that his genius was associated with this

town. He trusted that Mr. Gibson's works would not be dispersed, and expressed a desire that some of them might be purchased, for his association with the town.

Mr. ALFRED HIGGINSON called attention to the death of an honorary Member of the Society, the late Sir William R. Hamilton, Astronomer Royal of Ireland.

Mr. MOTT drew attention to some observations in Ferguson's last work on Architecture, with regard to the connection between Ethnology and that art.

Mr. T. J. MOORE exhibited a series of illustrations of Silk Moths and their products, lately presented to the Derby Museum by Mr. F. Moore.

Mr. MOORE also announced that a very fine collection of Dodo and other bones, from the Mauritius, had lately been presented to the Derby Museum, by Mr. James P. Higginson, on behalf of his nephew, Mr. Harry P. Higginson, resident engineer of railway works in that island. An early opportunity would be taken of bringing these most remarkable and interesting specimens before the notice of the Society.

Mr. ALFRED HIGGINSON said it occurred to him to mention that the crusts which form on the arm of the infant, after successful vaccination, contained the *virus vaccinum*, in a state capable of reproduction and of transmission from place to place.

It was remarked by Mr. Nisbet that the suggestion referred to by Mr. Higginson was practised in America.

Mr. MARPLES then read extracts from an article by Mr. Theodore Küster, describing in detail the printing office of A. Mame and Co., at Tours, from which the beautiful volumes of the Bible and Dante, with woodcut embellishments by Gustave Doré, have recently issued.

## EIGHTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 5th, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Mr REDISH drew attention to the statement which had appeared in the papers, to the effect that many of the works of the late Mr. John Gibson, R.A., were in the possession of Liverpool merchants, and suggested that a local exhibition of such works should take place in the town.

The PRESIDENT exhibited the catalogue of the Melbourne Free Public Library, and made some observations on the care with which it had been got up, both in respect to the arrangement of the book and the excellent style of the printing and illustrations, which reflected great credit on the local press. Some further remarks on the same subject were made by the Rev. H. H. Higgins and Mr. Mott.

Mr. HIGGINSON remarked that explosions in coal mines were generally found to prevail when the barometer stood at a low point, and that several such had recently occurred.

Dr. NEVINS explained that this was a well-known fact, and that it was usual to adopt the needful precautions in mines when such warning was afforded.

The paper for the evening was by Dr. Inman, on "The Antiquity of Certain Christian and other Names."

An abstract of this paper follows the report of the next meeting.

## NINTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, February 19th, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Dr. COLLINGWOOD stated that, owing to his appointment as Scientific Naturalist to the proposed Government expedition to the China seas, he was compelled to tender his resignation of the office of Honorary Secretary, which he had filled for the last five years. It was thereupon moved by the Rev. H. H. Higgins, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, and unanimously resolved:—

“That this Society expresses its gratification at the honourable recognition of Dr. Collingwood's high attainments and character, manifested by his appointment as Scientific Naturalist to a Government expedition to the China seas; and places on record its sense of the very valuable services rendered by him in the onerous office of Honorary Secretary, as well as its regret at the loss sustained by his removal.”

It was further resolved that the above resolution be engrossed, and forwarded to Dr. Collingwood.

Mr. REDISH was desired to act as Secretary *ad interim*, to which he consented.

Mr. PICTON stated that as he wished to make some observations on the paper for the evening, he would leave the chair, which was accordingly taken by the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, V.P.

The second part of the following paper was then read:—

## ON THE ANTIQUITY OF CERTAIN CHRISTIAN AND OTHER NAMES.\*

BY THOMAS INMAN, M. D.

THE leading idea in the following Essay is, that the names of those who are held in reverence are more persistent than any other words; and that their persistency is such, that it can be traced throughout ages and over a vast extent of country. Still further, we believe that, in the study of such names, attention must be paid to sound rather than to spelling; for the phonetic value of letters changes, and with that a word is spelled differently at distant periods, its pronunciation remaining the same. We consider that proper names have not been perpetually fabricated, but that the new are copied to a great extent from the old. There have been periods in all time in which cognomens have been originated, and many, when so fabricated, have been copied.

In our own country we know that our language has changed so completely, that King Alfred, if he were to return, could not hold converse with us—though his name survives, and is likely to persist, wherever the English penetrate.

In like manner, the English, French, Germans, Italians, and others are unable to talk in Hebrew or in Greek, yet the name of Jesus is familiar to us all. Yet, in the time of our Saviour, the name He bore was already ancient, for it was the name of Joshua; and, having traced it thus far, it is probable that we might be able to trace it still farther back. The names which are most revered are those borne by the

\* The Original Essays being too long for insertion in the *Transactions*, the following abstract is substituted in their place.

invisible being whom we know as the Creator, Almighty, and such like names. It is therefore probable that religious or sacred names will be more persistent than secular ones. Practically it is so; but religious wars, like ordinary contests, often end in the annihilation of one party, and thus the links of a chain, from the present to the past, may be wanting, or may be only recognisable in colonies which preserved the ancient faith, when that of the mother country became extinct.

The study of names, embraces the study of ancient creeds, of sacred words, of old rituals, symbols, and of modern names, creeds, practices, and emblems. Into this part of the subject, however, the author has not entered farther than was necessary.

Accident threw across my path, many years ago, a book, written in the French language by a very learned author, respecting certain forms of worship existing in ancient times; whose remains were found in one mild form or another in Ireland and England on the west, in more offensive forms in Italy, and in still ruder forms in India on the east. The perusal of this work led to farther inquiry; but the results did not give anything sufficiently definite to be laid before the Society. More recently, my attention has again been brought to the subject, and a new impulse given to my investigations; while, at the same time, they have assumed a distinct form, and point to a conclusion which is, I think, so consonant with the deductions drawn by abler heads than mine from entirely different trains of thought, that I may fairly lay it before you.

In studying the past, I think we may fairly consider the present; for, as the wise man says, "the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done," &c.

What do we in the present day when we select a name for our children?

1. We call him after some honoured parent, relative, or friend—for ordinary folks rarely coin a new name; or,

2. After some popular king, prince, hero, or orator; or,

3. After a favourite saint; or,

4. We give some name intended to show our feelings, such as Theodore, Diéudonné, &c.—Gift of God, God-given.

5. Generally we carefully avoid giving such names as Snub-nose, Well-beloved, God Shield Us; although we know from history that the Puritans did really adopt such names as "Praise God," "In the Lord Put I my Trust," &c.

6. We most carefully avoid calling our children after any of the names applied to the devil, though there are such surnames as Manteuffel and Mandeville; but we by no means object to calling by some nasty nickname those whom we dislike.

7. We see that when a people migrate, whether in whole or in part, they carry with them to their new abode the names and religions which they were familiar with in the old; and Boston, Troy, New York, Santa Cruz, Trinidad, Sydney, Perth, and Melbourne tell in America and Australia of the names of towns, faiths, and persons in England and Spain.

8. We see that different nations, starting apparently from a common point, have greatly modified certain names, both as regards spelling and pronunciation; *e. g.*, we have Joan, Jeanne, Jane, Jennet, Jannet, and Janet in countries very close to each other; and it is difficult almost to believe how, Evan in Wales, Ivan in Russia, Yan in Poland, and John in England could have a common origin.

Without proceeding further in this direction, however, I will turn your attention to the question, whether these ideas alone were always regnant. If we turn to ancient writers, we



find names were frequently assumed; *e. g.*, Augustus, a name which was subsequently adopted by succeeding Emperors of Rome. Sometimes they were prescribed beforehand, by one who assumed a right to direct; and, when writing mythical histories, there is no doubt that mystic names were given to heroes and kings, which were subsequently copied by their presumed successors, without any definite idea that there was any mythical interpretation of them.

Ere I proceed, I must call your attention to the varieties of pronunciation and spelling which exist around us, and which make our appreciation of similar sounds very precarious.

I shall content myself with two or three prominent ones. We write murder, thunder, Tuscany, father, and pronounce accordingly; but the Irish, the German, the Italian, and the Latin would pronounce those words, and write them too, as murthur, donder, Thoscâno, pater, or vater, or vader.

Again: we write Jerusalem, Jack, James, John, and pronounce the J as if it were Dj, or G, as in George; whereas, the proper pronunciation is as if the J was Y.

There is no doubt that the rock on which the antiquary is most likely to split is the true value of similarity of sounds, sense, and letters.

Before entering upon my subject, I must acknowledge my obligation to Dr. Colenso's translation of Dr. Oort's book on the worship of Baal in Israel. Also to a most remarkable work called *Anacalypsis*, by the late Godfrey Higgins, a book only privately printed, and very difficult to obtain; and, to a small extent, to Miss Young, the author of an interesting dictionary of Christian names; and to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, &c. But, though indebted to all, I must take all the responsibility of the Essay upon myself.

I propose to consider, firstly, the origin of the word John, and its analogue, Jack—whence come they? Taking Miss Young's authority, we find that the word is Jehan in Belgium, Jovan or Ivan in Slavonic, Juan in Spain, Joas in Portuguese, Jonas in Lithuania, Giovanni in Italy, Johannes in German, Ivan in Russia, and Jofa in Lapp, and, we may add, Evan in Welsh. These names are more or less modern; we therefore turn to the past, and find Javan as a son of Japhet, and in the Septuagint we find that he has a brother *Elisa*, translated with us *Elishah*, while in more recent times we have Shah *Jehan*, far away in India, and *Java*, not far from it; we have *Jehenabad* in Persia, again in Afghanistan, and *Jehangirah* in Bengal. The name of *Jansi* was familiar to us during the late mutiny, and we find a *Janshansree* in China.

It is clear, then, that the name, in one form or another, is not only widely spread, but of very ancient date; and we note that in all nations it is formed of two sounds, the one *yah*, the other *an* or *on*.

I propose to analyse its meaning, chiefly with reference to its association with *Jack*, and through its Greek form, *Joannes*.

We may divide this word in many ways, *e. g.*, *Jo-annes*, *J-oannes*, *Jao-annes*; we may compare it with *Johanna*, *Jonas*, *Jehonadab*, and again with *Susanna*, *Annas*, &c.

The result is that we see in the word a junction of two names both of sacred or mystic meaning, *Jah*, *Jo*, or *Jao*, and *Anna*.

The one is of male, the latter of female significance; the word is, so to speak, androgynous, and tells of an ancient faith which may be described thus:—The world above, around, and below us was made by an almighty being, whose attributes the human mind could not grasp, and to whom no

substantive name could be given, for a substantive name must imply a person. He was therefore spoken of with reverence, under names implying self-existence, as, *I Am, He Is, Supreme Wisdom, &c.*

No man could by searching find Him out, but the devout might hope to attain to some knowledge of him by studying His works.

Of all His works none were more glorious than the sun, the moon, the stars, and the wandering planets: to study their courses was to study the Almighty who created them. As the knowledge of astronomy increased, the system of thought developed, and the sun in its various phases was spoken of under different names; *e.g.*, Creator in Spring, Preserver in Autumn, when it ripened fruit, Destroyer in Winter, when its face was hidden by storms. It was natural that the Almighty would be invoked under his name of Destroyer against enemies—under his name Creator or Preserver by those who wished for offspring or success in life.

With various names came the idea of person, and a person, to human ideas, must have a sex. Observation told men that the male was a finer animal than the female; but that both were necessary to reproduction. The sun, then, darting his beams upon the earth, was said to be the male, and the earth the female. That idea would do for mundane things, but not for the celestial worlds. The fiction then was raised that the Almighty was both male and female. As it was blasphemy to think that carnal connection could occur, the female idea was therefore associated with Virginity.

The period of the birth of each year was placed at the vernal equinox. Observation showed that the sun was at one time in Taurus; that he went subsequently into Aries, and after that into Pisces at the period of this equinox, and three systems of religious rites were founded upon this knowledge.

When the sun passed from one sign to another, the belief was entertained, that the Almighty allowed a portion of Himself to become incarnate, and to appear on earth as man. Brahm, Buddah, and Christna were considered as such, and mystic fictions were made as to their human birth, into which I forbear to enter at present.\*

When once the study of the sun became associated with the study of the Almighty, every attribute of the sun,—fire, light, heat, height, destruction, storms, &c.,—became objects of reverence.

But the purest form of this faith degenerated, under the influence of human passions, indolence, and ignorance, into forms of worships horrible in the extreme. This degeneration was excessive amongst some nations, but less serious amongst others. Yet, throughout all known people, there ran to a very late period a system of rites, or ceremonies, or names, which told of the origin of their worship.

That you may not consider this sketch altogether fanciful, let me recal to your mind the Biblical history of Abraham, and how he found, on his coming to Canaan, kings and princes to whom he gave reverence, friendship and esteem, which he could not have done had they been idolators.

I must also call your attention to the reverence with which we use the name of *God* when we wish to speak of the Almighty, and how frequently we employ in its place such words as the Creator, the Omniscient, the Deity, &c. The ancients seem to have had the same idea, and to have spoken of "the Existent" as "my Lord," "the King," "the High One," "the Father," or, again, by periphrasis, as "the Sun,†" "the Light," "the Fire," "the Healer." In direct

\* It will be in the recollection of many of my hearers that Alexander, Augustus, and Pythagoras all claimed to be of divine descent; and the name of *Barjesus* (the son of Jesus, or Esa-Christna, the Saviour), the sorcerer, suggests a like idea.

† In the Chaldean mythology Asshur, the chief God, is *Il, Eli, Elos, Ius, Helios*.

proportion to the reverence or admiration felt for this Being, would be the propensity to call mythic kings, founders of a dynasty, by some combination of His name; and a careful priesthood would continue to keep such names in reverence by bestowing similar combinations on rulers. An inquiry, therefore, into the names used in combination with each other will enable us to ascertain those appellations which were considered as divine or mystic; and a comparison of those names with similar ones in distant countries will enable us to ascertain the extent of area over which those names were known.

I do not attempt to go over the ground already passed over in Dr. Colenso's very interesting translation, though I must, perforce, present some of his facts to my hearers when they chime in with those obtained from other sources.

*Jao* and *Annes* are the component parts of John's name. An old oracle of the Clarian Apollo says that the names of *Zeus*, *Aides*, *Helios*, *Dionysus*, and *Jao* represent the sun at different seasons. Macrobius tells us of another oracle of Apollo, saying that *Jao* is the greatest of all the Gods; and, he adds, that *Jao* is the sun.\*

Having got thus far, we turn to the sacred writings, and find that *John* is the *Helios* foretold by Malachi. Malachi spoke of *Helios* the Tishbite—whose name with us is translated *Elijah*—(*Eli* was a name of the Chaldean Asshur, the first of the Trinity; *Hea* was the second). We have, therefore, a direct conjunction between *John*, *Helios*, and *Jah*. But another name for *Helios* was *Dionysus*. If, again, we consider that *Bacchus* was identical with *Dionysus*, and that one of his other cognomens was *Jacchus*, we get

\* In making an analysis of Hebrew names, it is very remarkable that the use of *Jah* in composition comes in after David's sojourn with the Phœnicians. It is equally noticeable that it entered into the names of their kings, e.g., Maniah was king of Ukka, Zedekiah of Ascalon, Padiak of Ekron, at the time when Hezekiah was king of Jerusalem.

*Jack*, the equivalent for *John*; also *Jacques*, the brother of *John*, whose Greek name, *Jacob*, carries us back as far as the days of the Patriarch.

Interesting as this little bit of philology is, we increase that interest when we begin to trace some similar words, such as *Jonas*, *Ion*—*Jona*.\* We read in Mr. Higgin's *Celtic Druids* that *Ion* is Welsh for *Baal*, *Lord*, *God*, or *Isis*, and that *Iauna*, *Ion*, *Jona*, *Iain*, *Ianicoa*, *Iaungqica* is the same as *God* in Basque; that *Ion* is the sun in Scandinavia; that the Trojans called the sun *Jona*; that *Jawnah* is the sun in Persia; that *Janus* was the sun in Etruria and Rome. *Ion*, *Ion**ia*, and *Ion**ion* were connected with the *dove* as an emblem; and the *Dove* and *Ionah*, or *Yonah*, was the sacred sign of the Chaldean Asshur, and one of the prescribed offerings of the Hebrews.

The word *Yoni* is still in use in India; and it represents the female organ known as the *Vulva*. The Yonians adopted the idea of the feminine nature of the Creator; a dove was their emblem in Assyria. The visible sign before which they did homage was a representation of the *Vulva*, or female external organ, called by Layard and others *the sacred grove*.† The image is sufficiently like the thing signified to remind a devotee of its nature and meaning, and sufficiently unlike not to scandalise the uninitiated. I must also note that there are bars, or rings, across the sign, and that the officiating priests present to it a pine cone, of shape so similar to a testicle, and which they have apparently taken from a bag,—an emblem for the “*scrotum*,”—that few can doubt the mystic notion. And here, too, I must also note, that the sign which *Isis* carries in her hand is also a mystic

\* The “*Jannes*” who withstood Moses is the same as *Joannes*, with the exception of the *Omega*.

† Some sects in India and in Palestine still pay homage on certain sacred festivals to the thing signified, kneeling as devoutly before it as would any Western devotee at the shrine of a saint.

representation of the female organ, which is ornamented externally with the sign of virility, and barred across by wire, so bent down as not readily to be removed; clearly signifying that though she is the mother of all things, she is still the celestial virgin conceiving without access to the male.

It must now be noted, that the name of John was dictated by an angel before his birth; we are, therefore, prepared for the belief that his mother would bear some name of mystic significance. She was called Elizabeth.

The word Elizabeth is compounded of *El*, *issa*, and *beth*. The last syllable simply means the house or residence of, and is a word of Chaldee origin;\* the full word signifies the dwelling-place of *Elissa* or *Eliza*. The last cognomen is still current with us as a short form of the first. Who was *El-issa*? We have already met with the name as belonging to a man.

*Elissa* appears to have been one of the names of *Beltis*, *Myllitta*, *Alitta*, or *Alissa*, the supreme mother; one of whose representations was what we now call "a Virgin and Child," which is as common in some countries to-day as its ancestor was in Mesopotamia. Her name seems to be compounded of *El*, a god, not the God, and *issa*.

*Al*, *El*, *Il*,† *Ilos*, *Helos*, *Helios*, are some of the names of *Asshur*, and, as sacred words, are to be met with in composition in a vast number of places; e. g., *Allah* = *Al-jah*, or *All-Hea*, in Arabia; as *Alanna*, *Elam*, *Alise*, *Ellon*, *Elan*, we find it from India to England.

We see this syllable in combination with *Is*, *Ish*, *Isha*, and allied forms, in the names *Ishmael*, *Ismael*.‡ *Elisha*

\* It is interesting to find that such names as *Bethsaida*, *Bethany*, *Bethabarah* existed in Chaldea, even before the time of Abraham.

† The plural of *Al* or *El* was *im*, or *in*; whence came *Elohim*, or *Aleim*, of the Hebrews, and *Ilin* or *Ellin* of the Assyrians.

‡ *Ismi Dagon* was a Chaldean king four centuries before Abram; his name yet survives, in *Ismiel*, the name of the Patriarch's firstborn.

is a grandson of Japhet, and a son of Javan or John, and we are all familiar with the name of Israel's great prophet, Elisha. We find Elizabeth (as Elisheba is rendered by the seventy) as the wife of Aaron; and so the mother of a line of priests. The ordinary explanation of the Hebrew form of the word is "The oath of God," which seems to me absurd; for to talk of the Queen of *Sheba* as the "*swearing ruler*" would be outrageous. I find that *Shabie*, *Shaba*, or *Shabaha* is Semitic for *abundance*, a word sometimes applied to the stars. This would give us, as a meaning for Elisheba, "The God of abundance;" or, if we adopt the Hebrew language alone, and for '*Sheba*' read seven, we get "God is seven." We have *Elkanah* (the *khan*\* or ruler, El) as the husband of Anna and Peninna, and father of Samuel; and the word *Elijah*, an union showing fraternity between Jah and Eli.

Leaving the sacred writings for the profane, we find that one of the names of the mythic *Dido*, the Tyrian or *Phœnician*† founder of Carthage, was Elissa, and that she had a sister called Anna—her name is perpetuated in Els in Austria and Nassau, Elsa and Elsau in Italy and Switzerland, Else in Hanover, Elso in Denmark, and Elz and Elze in Baden and other parts of Germany.

Ere we proceed to inquire into the meaning of Is, or Iza,

\* This word seems to be of Scythic origin. Col. Rawlinson has demonstrated the existence of an extensive Scythic empire over Mesopotamia, Central and Southern and Western Asia, and Egypt prior to the oldest Chaldean monarchy. *Khan* is still the name given to a Tatar ruler, and *Am* (*see, passim*) is still a Tatar god. The word *Khan* entered into composition in Assyrian, Hebrew, and Phœnician names, e. g., *Khananiah*, Assyrian—*Khanunw*, king of Gaza, *Chenaanah*, Israelite, *Canaan* or *Cainan*. So far as I am able to understand, the word involves the idea of "possessing all things."

† I may state that the result of my reading, up to the present time, has led me to the belief that the Chaldeans, Hebrews, and Phœnicians had a common language, a common mythology, and a common physiognomy; but, like all nations living apart, they underwent changes in language, &c., just as the word *Yankee* can scarcely now be recognised as a descendant of English.



or Issa, let us pause for a minute, and consider our own word *hell* (*helios*), *helo*, *hellah*, *hole*, and the ideas connected with it. Its Greek form was *hades* or *haides*. Both are names of the *sun*, both are connected with the destroying power of that luminary, or to his absence or angry mood in the stormy winter. The idea of an angry sun is met with in the *Iliad*; and that of a separate place of judgment and punishment seems to be of equal if not greater antiquity, the idea being associated with the sun's destroying power, or the place he occupied during the night—Erebus.

Returning from this digression, we find the word *Is* of most extended use. We meet with it duplicated in *Isis*, the celebrated goddess of Egypt, Syria, Greece, Rome, Italy, &c.; and we meet with the same name in the river on which is Oxford. In Chaldæa and Assyria we have *Ish-tar*, or *Ri* the offspring of *Ish*, equivalent to *Rhea*; we have also *Beltis*, the supreme goddess.

We find it in *Isaac* (brother of *Is*) and *Issachar*. We meet with *Isaca* in Ancient Britian, *Isadici* in the Caucasus and in Ireland, *Issa* in Ancient Greece, *Issoria* (*Is-suria*), (*Is-çire*) is an Assyrian goddess; we had *Issus*, famed by Alexander's battle; *Isanna* was in Ancient Britain, *Isium* in Egypt, and *Iskender* is still a sacred name amongst the Turks; we have it in other forms, as *Nissa* or *Nizza* (*Nice*), *Esa*, *Æsus* a god of Gaul, *Esar-haddon*, *Esau*, which is Edom.

We believe *Isis* to be a name of the Creator; it might stand for both "he is" and "she is;" but the form given to the image is usually associated with such female emblems as *mammæ*, *vulva*, long hair, &c.

But *Isis* has still farther been identified with the *Maia* of Hindoo mythology, and the mother of *Chrishna* at the time the sun entered into *Aries*. Impregnated by the power of *Brahm*, she became the mother of the sun or *Buddah*, to

whom was given the title of Saviour—a word applied to the leader of the Jewish hosts in Canaan, and again on their return from Babylon.

Is and Iës (I.H.S.) are unquestionably related to each other by a mystic link; the one has a feminine, the other a masculine, association.

The study of Isis naturally brings us to another word, conspicuously favoured in Spain, and common amongst us, namely *Isabel*. Its Hebrew and Greek and Italian form are *Yetzebel*, more familiarly known in our pronunciation as *Jezebel*.

The nearest signification I can find for the words *Itz* and *Bel*, which compose her name, are from the Hebrew, *Ezer*, meaning help, and involving the idea of saviour, healer, or restorer; and it is found in combination with *Ab*, father, in *Abiezer*, with *El*, the sun, in *Eliezer*, with *Eben*, Rock or Stone, in *Ebenezer*, with *Jao* in *Joezer*, and with *Hadad*, (glory or splendour) in *Hadadezar*.

The last syllable of Jezebel is *Bel*, possibly one of the numerous forms of writing *Baal*. In the Hebrew, we are told that it signifies my Lord; but, when we consider the great extent of country over which the word was used, I doubt whether we ought to be quite content with the meaning assigned to it by a nation so insignificant as the Jews were in all that related to war, commerce, and territory.

Before I speak of its universality, let me direct your attention to the way in which a fervently religious nation, like the Spaniards, have perpetuated their faith in the names given to their colonies. We have in the Western hemisphere, Vera Cruz, the true cross; Santa Fé, the holy faith; Trinidad, the trinity; Valparaiso, the vale of paradise; Los Angeles, the angels, &c. In like manner, some ancient nation has carried with its trade, or by missionaries to distant lands, the names of its sacred things; and the extent of a name

may thus become an indication of the commercial relations of those who used it. We had *Baal* in Phœnicia; *Beltis* in Chaldæa; and *Baly* is an Indian god. He was adored throughout Syria; in Carthage he was popular; in Palestine, Saul and David named sons after him — Esh Baal being a name common alike to Mephibosheth and father of Jezebel.

We have to this day a remembrance of Bale fires in Ireland, and Beltane games in Scotland. There are Ballys, Ballas, and Bels in abundance in Ireland, Mona, Scotland, England, and Wales. To select a few out of many in modern countries, we have, *Baalbek*, in Palestine; *Baale*, in Prussia; *Bâsle*, in Switzerland; *Bal*, in Sweden, Norway, and Algeria; *Bala*,\* in Wales; *Palestine*, Afghanistan, and Rajpootana, *Baladore*, in Italy; *Balagansch*, in Russia; *Balallan*, in Scotland; *Balana*, in Greece; *Ballan*, in India; *Ballapalli*, in Madras; *Ballasur*, in Bengal; *Bali*, in Greece, Africa, and Madagascar; *Balia*, in Turkey; *Baliassa*, in Nepaul; *Balis*, in Syria; *Ballack*, in Perthshire; *Ballaugh*, in Mona and Ireland; *Ballyanno* and *Ballyporeen*, in Ireland; *Ballypur* and *Ballypanoor*, in Madras and Bengal; *Belper* is in Derbyshire and Madras; *Belpurg*, in Switzerland; *Bela* or *Beel*, in Hungary, *Beloochistan*, and Bengal.

After the study of the words *Joannes* or *Johanna*, *El issa beth*, and *Isabel*, we will proceed next to the cognomen *Anna*, or *Anna bel*.

*Anna* is a remarkable name. In the sacred writings we find her one of the wives of Elkanah, and the other wife

\* It has been suggested, that if a name, like *Bal* or *Bally*, has a local meaning, e.g., if it mean "place," that it is not right for the philologist to assume that it can have any other! This idea, if carried out, would introduce the most absurd interpretations to certain current names. *Bally-poor-een*, becomes "the place of poor eyes;" *Ballaugh*, is "jolly place." It is true that those who suggest the idea assume the right to explain the local name by adopting Celtic, Cymric, Gaelic, Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, High German, Low German, as best suits their fancy. They simply object to going too far back. Straining at gnats and swallowing camels is still a current practice.

is Peninnah. *Hannah* gives birth to a holy child, and herself utters a prophetic or sacred hymn. Another *Anna*, a prophetess, the daughter of Phaniel (the shining sun), welcomes our Saviour into the temple.

The sister of Dido was named Anna, and she came to Rome from Carthage. At Rome there was a festival of Anna Perenna, at which all sorts of jovial fun went on, and where the idea was prevalent that for every pot of wine drunk a year was added to the toper's life. This festival was about the middle or end of March. We find the name again as the mother of *Janus*, or the Sun-God. As *Oannes*, we have a mystical name in Babylonia for a deity, half man half fish (compare with Dagon, which means fish; also the word *Ιχθυς* (the fish) as applied to our Saviour, and the sacred mystery, still existent, of eating fish\* on days commemorative of that Redeemer's death; also the sacred fishes preserved in certain tanks connected with Indian temples.) The *Oannes* referred to was represented as a benevolent teacher of mankind. In India we met with the goddess Bhavanni or Bouanni, and also Anna Poorna (food abundant—the goddess of abundance), whose festival was kept at the same time as at Rome. At Ephesus we meet with Diana (or *Diva*, (saint) Ana). In one of the Apocryphal Gospels the mother of Mary is spoken of as Anna.

In the Chaldean and Assyrian mythology *Anu* was the oldest of the Gods, and his name was declined *Anu*, *Ani*, *Ana*—in Assyria, *Anna*, indeclinable. *Hea* or *Hoa* was the

\* It is a point of some interest to know why the fish should ever become a sacred emblem. We may try to find it out thus.—1. The Serpent is an emblem; but it is one kind only which is orthodox—the *Cobra*. That one has the power of "erecting its head." It is essentially the emblem of masculine creative energy. 2. The fish is an emblem; but only one form of fish is proper. That form represents the female organ (*vulva*). 3. The fish is closely associated with *Anna*, and she is the Goddess of *Abundance*. No creature known produces so vast a number of eggs and offspring as the fish. From these considerations we consider that the Fish, or Fish-God, represents the *God of Abundance*, or the *Goddess*, if the style of belief favours the feminine idea of creation.

intelligent guide, or fish. Fishes abound on mythological Chaldean and Assyrian tablets. *Nun* is also the name of a fish, and *Joshua* the son of *Nun* means the Saviour guide—the offspring of the fish.\*

A learned author, the late Godfrey Higgins, in a book replete with thought, quoting from every available source, and from whom I have drawn much of my own knowledge on these matters, writes in his *Anacalypsis*, p. 646, the following very curious paragraph:—"Anna (Annus), or the year, was the mother of Maria, or Mera, or Maia, all of whom were the same; and Maia was the first month in the year on which, in very ancient times, began both the year and the cycle of ΙΗΣ (IHS) or 608." There was also a certain Anna who was supernaturally pregnant (like the wife of Abraham, who was sometimes called Maria and Isha, but commonly Sarah, Sarai, or Sara-iswati) in her old age, and she was delivered of a son whose name was John, Ioannes, or Jonas, or Jana, or Oannes. He was born at the Midsummer solstice, exactly six months before the son of Maria.

In another part (p. 305) he says, quoting Dr. Pritchard and Sir William Jones:—"The beneficent form of Bhavanni, termed Diva, or Anna Purna, is the Anna Perenna of the Romans. She is also the counterpart of the Egyptian Isis. She is figured as bent by the weight of her full breasts, and reminds us of the statue of Isis Multimammia. Bhavanni is invoked by the name of *Ma*, as was Demeter (Je mater) among the Greeks by that of *Maia*." All these, then, seem to be the same, only under different names.

Anna, then, or rather Annabel, appears as Baal bringing

\* It is curious that the prominent names in the early national history of the Hebrews should have a Chaldean rather than an Egyptian origin. *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Hur* represent *The Sun*, *The God Aar* (or Air), and *The Moon*. *Moses* married *Zipporah*; and *Sippara* was a Chaldee town, which, like *Hur*, was dedicated to the *Moon*. There was, too, a Sister—a virgin, whose name signifies "Virgin Mother." *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Hur* fight with *Amalek*, or King Am—the name of a Scythic deity.

in the new year at the vernal equinox, when once again, after the cold and storms of winter, the genial spring arose; again to die, but to reappear again perennially. Nor is it without significance that, in our own day, the springing herbs, &c. excite our hopes on *Lady Day*. *Anna*, standing alone, has evidently been intended, when used to the mother of any great personage, to mean the year in which he was born; just as we might say May is the mother of flowers.

The circling year, even amongst us, is often spoken of as if it were a being; *e. g.*, a youth can say—"Next year will change me from an infant to a man." In this way it is synonymous with time; the incessant circling is synonymous with eternity; and the idea of eternity suggests a higher idea, if such be possible.\*

The cognomen *Anna*, so far as I can find, was more popular, in one form or another, amongst the Hebrews and Phœnicians than amongst the Greeks and Romans. In the first, we have *Annas*, *Anani*, *Isanna*, *Susanna*, *Susianna*, &c. Amongst the second, we have *Hanno* and *Hannibal*; and it is mentioned by Miss Young, in her *History of Christian Names*, that *Hannibal* is a favourite name in the county of Cornwall, so long thought to have been visited by Phœnicians; and that it appears not only in its pure form, but also as corrupted into Honeyball.

If we refer to the Geographical Index, however, we find that the word has been extensively known and generally

\* We find *Anna*, in the form of *Ennius*, &c., common in Italy, and we have it compounded with *Heres*, the sun, in the Samnite Gens *Herennia*, and we meet with *Herennius* both in Etruria, Sicily, Rome, and in Italy generally. To-day we find *Enna* in Lombardy; *Enakleh* in Nubia; *Ennabery* in the Tyrol; *Ennel* and *Ennis* in Clare, Ireland; *Enney* in Switzerland; *Ens* in Austria; *Ennaro* in Algeria. We find in ancient times *Annaca*, an Amazon; *Anniva*, a mountain in Asia; *Annibal*, son of *Amilcar*; *Anniaris*, a Greek philosopher; *Hannibalianus* is half brother of Constantine. *Hanno* is a very common Carthaginian name. We have *Anna Comnena*, *Cheneana* in Israel (or *Anna*, chief ruler, equivalent to *Khan Anna*); *Annas* and *Annasias* in Judah; *Joannes* in Egypt (1 Tim. iii. 8). *Janna* is son of Joseph, and father of Melchi (see Luke iii. 24); and *Heli* is father of Joseph (*Ibid.* v. 23).

used. We have *Annaberg* in Austria, Saxony, and Silesia; *Anna Cariga*, *Anna Carty*, and *Annach* in Ireland; *Annack* Water in Scotland; *Anna* Clay, *Annacotty*, *Annadorn*, *Annagassen*, *Annagh*, *Annabeg*, *Annamore*, *Annahill*, all in Ireland—the number of *Annaghs* being eight. There is *Annak* in Egypt; and, again to return to Ireland—so strongly marked both in language and antiquities by Phœnician evidences—we have *Annakisha*, *Annalee*, *Annalong*, *Annamoe*, *Annamoy*. In Scotland, we have *Annan*, *Annat*; and in Indian parts we have *Annatom*, *Annavaram*, *Annawutty*, *Annantagarai*.

Since writing the above, I have met with the name *Annana*, as an Egyptian Scribe, in the time of Rameses the First (B.C. 1400), one of whose names is Miamun.

I have also seen an account of Mr. Lalaca's paper read before the Society, in which it is stated that at the present time the Hindoos make a festival of the New Year's Day, when the almanac *for the new year was worshipped*, and merchants bought and worshipped new account books. This is clearly the *Anna Perenna* under a different form.

But it is not really the year that is worshipped, but the celestial power which brings it round. The female name leads us to recognise the mythic *Rhea*, the mother of *Chronos* (time), equivalent to *Maia*, the mother of *Cristna*, as *Anna* was mother of *Janus*. She used to begin the year at the vernal equinox—the time we now call *Lady Day*, our "Lady" being called *Maria*, or Mary, instead of *Maia*. The words *Isabel* and *Anabel* being both compounded with *Bel*, shows that *Anna* and *Issa* are cognate with that word and with each other. *Bel* is *Issa*, *Bel* is *anna*. *Johanna* and *Joannes* are allied to *Helios*, and *Helios* is *Bacchus*. The Latins tell us that *Elissa* (Dido) and *Anna* were sisters, and both children of *Bel*. Thus we come again to find ourselves in a circle of names, all mystic, yet having reference to the one great Being, whose names are as

numerous as his attributes, and to whose honour we still sing our glad *Hosanna*, or *Help*, O *Anna*.

The next name to which I wish to draw your attention is *Amelia*, or *Emily*. Its composition seems to have puzzled Miss Young. She very properly refers to its similarity with the Emilian family in Rome, and with *Amulius*, the father of Romulus;\* and the Bishop of Natal refers to a Hebrew origin, the word in that language meaning *people*. But we must go further off than Italy, and further back than Abraham, if we wish to discover its significance. Of course you will recognise the last portion of the word as coming from *Helios*, the sun. The first syllable *Am* it is to which we will now confine our attention.

We find the word, in almost innumerable places, in China, India, Russia, Tartary, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, Austria, France, England, and Ireland.

If we turn to the sacred writings, we find *Ammiel*, *Eliam*, *Amos*, *Amon*, and *Amnon*; and we find that *Amram* was the father of Moses, the importance of which we shall shortly point out. In Egypt, we have Jupiter *Ammon*; and here let me recal the fact that Joseph married the daughter of a priest of *On*, a place identified with Heliopolis; we have *Amun* as a king in that country. In ancient Palestine we meet with *Amakek*—*Am* meleck, or king† *Am*. *Omadeus* was the name of Bacchus, and *Amadeus* has been a king in Piedmont. The mythic Amazons were prior to Bacchus and Hercules, and said to be of Scythic origin, though they came to help at the siege of Ilion (compare *Ilus*, Chaldee for *sun*). In Carthage we have *Amilcar*; in Italy, *Amelia* (*Am*, *helios*) was a city older than Rome. *Omphale* had Hercules for a slave. The word appears under another form at the Persian court, as *Haman*, and we still perpetuate it in *Amen*.

\* Note that *Amulius* is a compound of *Am* and *Helios*, in its Italian form of *Julius*; and that *Romulus* is *Rama Ilus*, or the High Sun.

† Meleck, or Melec, is still in use in Arabia for chief. Melec Ric was the title of Cœur de Lion amongst the Saracens.



Of the antiquity of this syllable *am*, *aum*, or *om*, we have abundant evidence. *Adam* is the first name found in the sacred writings, and afterwards we find *Essau* is *Edom*, and his dwelling is Mount *Seir* (*Seir-sur*, or fire). *Ham* is a son of Noah (compare *No Ammi*, in Egypt). *Gomer* is a son of Japhet (compare *Homer* the poet, *Omar* the Caliph, *Omar Pacha*,\* the general). *Hamor* and the *Amorite* were in Palestine long before *Abram*. *Abram* fights with *Amraphel*, a king of *Ellasar*, and *Chedorlaomer*, a king of *Elam*, a name surviving to the Christian era; his allies are those of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, and *Bela*, which is *Zoar* (fire). *Abram* dwells at *Mamre*; his steward comes from *Damascus*; he has *Abimelech* for a friend (the father king). He gives tithes and reverence to *Melchizedech* (the king of justice), and *Ezrom* (*Om* is my help) is a grandson of *Judah* (Luke iii. 33). If we are to give any credit whatever to this account, we cannot but confess that there was a religion in Palestine prior to the arrival of *Abram*, and one to which he adhered; consequently, we are constrained to believe that the mystic names we have alluded to were not of Hebrew origin, or to be explained by reference exclusively to the Hebrew language.

We must seek their origin in a remoter antiquity; and a more ancient tongue will help us to the meaning. We have *Am* combined with *Baal* in *Amabel*, in Bengal; with *Deus* or *Divus*, *Deva* (Hindoo), *Dea*, in *Amadis*, in Kurdistan; with *ai* or *jah* in *Amai*, Egypt; with *Helios* in *Amaliapolis*, in Greece; with *on* or *an*, or *anna*, in *Amana*, or *Abana*, Palestine. We have *Amarat* in Persia and Mount *Ararât*. We have it again in *Am* or *Umballa*, and compounded with *Baal* and *palli* (Chaldeans—Philistines?) in *Amballipalli* in Travancore. We have it with *Bra* or *Brahm* in *Ambra*, in Algeria and Switzerland. We have still *Ammân*, in Turkey and Palestine; and *Omar* is familiar to us in the

\* *Pacha* is another form of *Passhur*, whose root is *Aashur*, fire of the sun.

name of the Turkish general before Sebastopol, and is a favourite cognomen amongst Mahometan caliphs. We have it with *Ra*, the Egyptian title for king, lord, and sun, in *Amra* in Palestine, Egypt, India, and Persia; and with other combinations, which I forbear to notice farther than to call your notice to the word *Armagh*, which, as it is usually pronounced, is almost the same as *Omar*.

The word *Am* is pronounced *Aum*, and is sometimes spelled *Om*, as in *Omri*, the father of Ahab, the equivalent of *Amun Ra*.

Who or what is this mystic *Am*? I will first give you an anecdote, and then carry you with me to the most remote East. One of my brothers, a freemason, in reading certain books of the craft, came upon the word, and, wishing to test the truth of what he read, uttered this word as *Aum*, in casual conversation, to a very high-caste Hindoo, a clerk in his office in Bombay. The man was at once so awestruck that he scarcely could speak, and, in a voice almost of terror, asked where my brother had learned that word. To the Hindoo it was that incommunicable name of the Almighty, which no one ventured to pronounce except under the most religious solemnity.\* And here let me pause to remark that the Jews were equally reverent with the name they applied to the Most High; and that the Third Commandment was very literal in its signification.

The above anecdote tells us that the word at the present day is current in India as a holy, secret syllable.

We go thence to Thibet, Cashmere, and Tartary, and we find it there as common as is *Allah* amongst the Mussulmen. *Om mani pannee*, *Om mani padme houn*, are the current prayers, whose real meaning, however, none seem to know, or, at any rate, are disposed to tell. The usual meaning attached, if I recollect rightly, refers to the lotus, an emblem of *Om*, or God.

\* Compare Judges xiii. 18—"Why askest thou my name, seeing it is 'Secret?'"

*Am*, then, being a name of the Almighty, we turn to its significance in composition. In Egypt, as *Ammon*, it is coupled with *On*; and we analyse Jupiter Ammon as *Iu-pater Am on*—many names, but one God. In the Hebrew, we find amongst the princes of Israel two remarkable names—one *Am-is-shaddai*, and the other *Zur-is-shaddai*; one compounded of *Am*, while the other is compounded with *Zur*. As both *Is* and *Shaddai* were sacred names, it is clear that *Am* was not antagonistic to either, and *Am*, *Is*, *Zur*, and *Shaddai* are cognate terms.

*Am*, therefore, appears to be the very oldest of the names of the Most High, and, as we infer from its use at the present time, it is the most persistent. Its significance is *Mother*.

I find that Col. Rawlinson traced the existence of a *Scythic* empire over the whole of Asia, including parts of India, prior to the origin of the Chaldæan monarchy (about B. C. 2400). We have before noted *Khan* as a Tartar word—*Om* is unquestionably so. His *name* has in Tartary survived alone,—but associated with it we find stereotyped blocks for printing sacred books, and a style of worship so closely resembling that in vogue in Papal countries as to draw forth some strange comments from the Roman travellers who report them.

I could not use a more apt illustration to show the persistency of sacred names.

If we now attempt to draw the deductions that the inquiries respecting the origin of certain names have suggested, they assume a shape something like the following:—

We cannot penetrate into an antiquity in which there was not astronomical knowledge, and a religion with which that astronomy was not interwoven.

There is evidence that the knowledge and the religion

was spread over the whole of southern and central Asia, over the northern shores of Africa, and over the southern half of Europe, and along its sea-coasts. Whether the knowledge and religion was spread with a gradual spread of a race, or by missionaries following in the course of trade, we have only obscure evidence.

There is strong reason to believe that the knowledge and religion in question had its origin in northern or central Asia, or northern India.

Of the religion, we have traces in every civilised country of the old world ; it closely resembles the purest form known of Buddhism. Such histories as we possess of ancient Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome—I purposely avoid mentioning Palestine—lead us to infer that their religious systems were imported from the East, and that the spread westward was very gradual. The main argument in support of this is, the evidence of black images of divinities amongst a white population.

The existence of Baalite remains, and of Chinese and Phœnician signets, in Ireland, and a Yonic sanctuary in the north-west of Scotland, and the finding of a ring in Scotland of Indian style, uniting the Lingam, the Yoni, and the Cobra, tell us of the maritime enterprise of the ancient nation. In corroboration of our view respecting the Indian origin of many of the names met with in other parts of the world, let us take three of their conspicuous emblems. The *Linga*, or male emblem ; the *Yoni*, or female emblem ; and the *Agha*, *Argha*, or *Arca*, the sacred boat, containing a central mast, *i. e.*, a combination of the male and female emblems.

We have the first perpetuated amongst us in the spires of churches, the old maypole, the column, the round tower, which, when covered with a roof, became an exact representation of the male organ (a name by which I am told it is

still currently known amongst the Erse), and the current name for a tall rock at the mouth of the Boyne, now called the Ladies' Finger. We see it in the double towers of cathedrals here and on the Continent, in the Turkish minaret, and the Egyptian obelisk. We see it in certain crosses (Figs. 1 and 2) which, though now made decent,

FIG. 1.

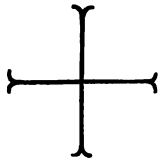


FIG. 2.



came from a form too gross for English readers. We had it in the pilgrim's staff. We see it in the tall candles (note, if these were burned for light only, lamps would be preferred), and in the votive offerings at Isernia, only of late abolished. The pillar emblem was common amongst the Hebrews. Two existed, as Jachin and Boaz, in the porch of Solomon's Temple, presents made by the king of Tyre.\* At a later period, the Jews adopted a more gross

FIG. 3.



\* Two pillars, similarly situated, are found in a very sacred temple of the Sun, or Martland, in Cashmere, where also the trefoil ornament is largely used.

form, and this was spoken of as a horror. It was still more common amongst Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans.

We see the Yoni amongst the Old Assyrians as the sacred grove (Fig. 3); amongst Egyptians and Greeks as the ornament which Isis holds (Fig. 4). We see it in the Pomegranate (Rimmon), used by Solomon as an ornament to pillars, and by the Syrian king as a Goddess to be adored.

We see it in Pagan and Christian places, as the Greek letter  $\Delta$ , in the *concha* worn by the pilgrim, in the mystic rings worn in rituals, in the *Galli* of Suria, and at St. Peter's.

At Mecca it assumed the form of a hole in the earth in front of the holy stone. In ancient Britain it is recognisable in the so called Druid circles, and at the large one at Abury there is reason to believe that the central mount represents a Linga. Probably the stole, called "orarian" by the Greeks, worn by certain nuns and priests (Figs. 5, 10), has this

FIG. 4.

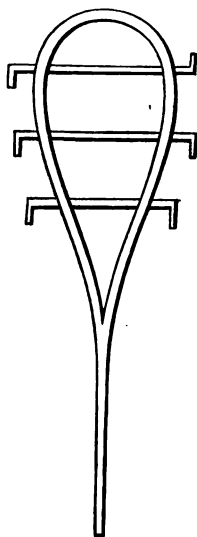


FIG. 5.



significance, and when the priest donned it he became the representative of the Linga, the mast of the mystic Argha. In Fig. 5 the Stole is adorned by the Maltese cross, the remains of the Etruscan phallic of the Pontiff, and the cross is the representative of the Chaldaean solar cross.

We see the union of the two in the *Crux ansata* (Fig. 6), in the lotus, in the lily-work round Solomon's Temple pillars, in the coronation orb, and in the French fleur-de-lys.

We recognise it in the long cathedral, or other church with the central spire. The *nave* comes from *navis*, a ship; and the anchor (a foul one, *i. e.*, one that will not hold) is the Argha *plus* the cross, combined with the serpent (Fig. 7). It forms the holy arg, or ark, or boat of the Egyptians, with the central mast made of various forms, all upright.\*

We see it shadowed forth in the Assyrian sign (Fig. 8), besides which a bull stands in one part, while at another part the female sign forms a sort of door to a tower, emblem of the male.

FIG. 5.



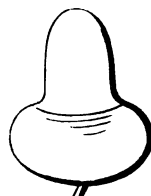
FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



We see it in an ornament common in old churches (Figs. 8 and 9), which has the character common both to the male and the female. The acorn and cup (Fig. 8) is used mystically with the same design.

\* The ark was a divine emblem both in ancient Chaldea and in ancient Egypt, and each God had a separate form of ark. I cannot help considering that the Indian myth of a periodical destruction of the world by water—its restoration from Vishnu's navel, whence comes Mahadeva and his wife (*i. e.*, the male and female organ—as an *ark*, *i. e.*, boat and mast), from which emerge all living creatures, is associated with a Mosaic deluge, and the ark that preserves within it the parents of a renovated world.

The stole, worn by many nuns (Fig. 10), is a counterpart of the ornament of Isis.

FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.

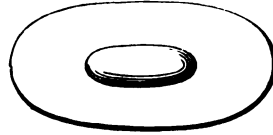


FIG. 12



FIG. 13.



I must also call attention to the sacred shields of Solomon, Rehoboam, and Numa Pompilius (Fig. 11), and as seen in profile (Fig. 12). They were the representatives of the sacred navel of Vishnu, from which all creation sprang; and they also represented the "Os tincae," through which all human creatures pass into the world.

Fig. 13 is a pilgrim token, used by those who visit a very ancient *Black Virgin* and child, at Amadou in France. Its oval form becomes significant when we find that the tokens of male saints have a different shape—square. The figures may be aptly compared to those of Ishtar, the Assyrian Elissa.

I think I have said quite enough to interest my hearers in the origin of certain names, and to demonstrate to what



extent an inquiry may lead when we wish to carry it to an exhaustive conclusion.

After writing the above, I came across Captain Wilford's account of the Sacred Isle of the West, and met in it the following passage (*Asiatic Researches*, vol viii., p. 264):—"It will appear in the course of this work that the language of the followers of Brahma, their geographical knowledge, their history and mythology, have extended through a range or belt about 40 degrees, or 2800 miles broad, across the old continent, in a south-east and north-west direction, from the eastern shores of the Malaya peninsula to the western extremity of the British Isles"—a conclusion almost identical with that I had arrived at in a different manner ere I saw his book.

Amongst the earliest of the Hindoo deities we find one of the name of *Soma*; and we remember that the Latin *Summus*, is the highest. We have also Zume, leaven, in the Greek, (*i. e.*, that which produces *spirit*, or alcohol); and *Summanus* was an ancient Etruscan and Roman divinity—the God of the *nocturnal* heavens. (*Soma* was the son of *Atri-Black*?)

The Author finished his paper by a short sketch of the history of early trading.

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NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—Since writing the two Essays, of which the above is an abstract, I have prosecuted my enquiries much farther, and have seen reason to modify my views. The result of my labours will be found in my forthcoming book, entitled "Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names." As I could not correct the proofs of my "prentice hand" satisfactorily, without rewriting the whole Essay, I have preferred to leave it marked with blots, which, though they offend my eye, yet remain evidence of the first strivings after truth.

## TENTH ORDINARY MEETING.\*

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 9th, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

It was explained by the President, that in consequence of the Rev. E. Mellor having found that an imperative engagement would take him out of town for the previous Monday, which was the ordinary night of meeting, it had been resolved to hold the meeting on that night instead.

Mr. William Blood was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following paper was then read:—

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE POINTS IN  
MR. MILL'S CRITIQUE OF THE PHILOSOPHY  
OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

BY THE REV. ENOCH MELLOR, M.A.

I HAVE undertaken, perhaps incautiously, to claim your attention to a critique upon Mill's *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*. There are other members of this society into whose hands such a service might have fallen more appropriately than into mine. I know not that I can plead any special reasons for undertaking this function, except that the study of metaphysics has been one of the most pleasant avocations of my life, to which I have turned with ever-increasing delight when released from the pressure of my ordinary duties; and that I shall ever account it one of the highest intellectual privileges that have fallen to my lot, to hear, for two years, the prelections of Sir William Hamilton, prelections which were valuable in themselves, but far more so for the stimulus which they imparted and the inspiration they created. It were easy to indulge in an eulogy upon that illustrious thinker, that, to those who have never felt the spell of his personal influence, might be regarded as excessive. This, however, is neither the time nor the place for such an encomium. But, whatever may be the future fortune of his philosophy, whether it be destined to hold its place, with some modifications, at the head of psychological systems, or, as many imagine, to sink into obscurity, as an imperfect and self-contradictory attempt to explain the facts and laws of human consciousness,—an attempt utterly shattered by a more scientific method of investigation,—no philosophical writer can hereafter speak of

the history of British metaphysics without paying homage to the amazing learning, the acuteness, and the honourable candour of Sir William Hamilton.

This homage is paid to him by MILL, who is by far the most powerful antagonist he has ever met with, and who, upon some points of his philosophy, has, in my opinion, effected his complete overthrow. He confesses, in his opening sentence, that "among the philosophical writers of the present century in these islands no one occupies a higher position than Sir William Hamilton. He alone (says Mill) of our metaphysicians, of this and the preceding generation, has acquired, merely as such, an European celebrity; while in our own country, he has not only had power to produce a revival of interest in a study which had ceased to be popular, but has made himself, in some sense, the founder of a school of thought." Similar testimonies are scattered throughout Mill's elaborate work, and they are in the highest degree creditable to a critic who, certainly, will not be accused of handling leniently or carelessly the doctrines of the illustrious Baronet.

The effect produced on a disciple of the member for Westminster by the perusal of his volume will be the conviction that a more methodical, unsparing, and hopeless slaughter was never exhibited in the whole history of philosophy. Chapter after chapter witnesses the English critic following the Scotch professor from position to position, assailing him with well-directed, and occasionally with most destructive fire; and if, as we hope to show, he has failed in many of his attacks, and has been seriously injured by the recoil or explosion of his own guns, we have no expectation of seeing the failures of Mr. Mill redeemed by any future philosopher of his school. His work seems to us to have accomplished all that is possible in the way of polemical criticism of the Scottish philosophy. It displays a percep-

tion of distinctions which is microscopic in the highest degree. Not a word of Hamilton's escapes him. More than once he misapprehends Hamilton, but never, so far as I have seen, consciously misrepresents him. It was my intention originally to have reviewed Mill's chapters *seriatim*, but the pressure under which I have felt constrained to supply a paper at an earlier date than was contemplated, has left me no sufficient time for such a continuous and exhaustive treatment. Should the society desire it, it will give me pleasure to furnish a supplementary paper next session.

I now proceed to read such criticism as I have had time to prepare.

Mr. Mill has a somewhat lengthy chapter on the law of *inseparable* association, and how Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Mansel dispose of it. It is, as many of you will be aware, Mr. Mill's royal principle. It has to stand in the place of intuitive and necessary judgments. Whether there be things that we cannot believe, or cannot *but* believe, the impossibility is in both cases to be explained by the law of inseparable association. He complains that this law has been all but universally treated with utter neglect even by philosophers themselves. Even Sir William Hamilton, in his *Dissertation on the Laws of Association*, is said not to shew the "smallest suspicion of this the least familiar and most imperfectly understood of these laws," namely, the law of inseparable association. He complains that his father, Mr. James Mill, "received but scant justice at the hands of Sir William Hamilton," inasmuch as the learned Baronet confines his recognition of this important law, which Mr. James Mill expounded, to a "bye corner of his work." And yet Sir William Hamilton assigns the reason why he attached so little importance to a law which professed, in his judgment, much more than it was in its power to accomplish,

namely, to account empirically for the judgments which, in Sir William's opinion, are original and underived. He says, "Mr. [James] Mill has pushed the principle of association to an extreme which refutes its own exaggeration, analysing, not only our belief in the relation of cause and effect into that principle, but even the primary logical laws."

It is probable that Sir William Hamilton did not attach sufficient importance to this law; but it is certain that Mr. Mill pushes it far beyond its province, as we hope presently to show. The incompleteness of Sir William's note on the whole question of association, its history and its theory, unhappily renders it impossible for us to know his full and final opinions. His Dissertation breaks off abruptly in the midst of a sentence in which he was actually discussing the objections to Mr. James Mill's theory. There is no chapter in Mr. John Stuart Mill's examination of Hamilton which raises a more testing *experimentum crucis* than the one on inseparable association, and there is none in which Mr. Mill's philosophy is seen to be more hopelessly at fault. His position is, that the reason why we cannot conceive any so-called fundamental principle as being different from what it is, is that we have never seen the things which it expresses in any other association. The reason why we believe the whole to be greater than its part is not to be found in any *à priori*, fundamental, primordial law of thought, but is the result simply of a uniform observation that the whole is greater than its part. Mr. Mansel has challenged this view of Mr. Mill, and endeavours to show that uniform association does not by any means generate the same feeling of necessity. "I may imagine," he says, "the sun rising and setting as now a hundred years, and afterwards remaining continually fixed in the meridian. Yet my experiences of the alternations of day and night have been at least as invariable as of the geometrical properties of bodies.

I can imagine the same stone sinking ninety-nine times in the water, and floating the hundredth, but my experience invariably repeats the former phenomenon only." How does Mr. Mill meet this objection, which proves that a uniform association does not, by any means, always generate the feeling of necessity? He meets it by introducing a modification into his theory, from which it appears that necessities of thought are never created except in cases where we never perceive one phenomenon without, "at the same moment, or at the immediately succeeding moment, perceiving the other." Could Mr. Mill have seriously imagined that this was a valid reply to Mr. Mansel. He asks if the *phenomenon day* is so closely linked with the *phenomenon night* that we never perceive the one without, at the *same time*, or the immediately succeeding moment, perceiving the other. Unquestionably day and night are not at the "same moment." This physical impossibility can scarcely be compassed to meet the exigencies of Mr. Mill's empirical philosophy. But he may be accommodated so far as to have his theory tested by a slight alteration of Mr. Mansel's terms. Let the moment at which the sun touches the western horizon, whether of wave or hill, be considered as the *end* of the day and the *beginning* of the night. Here we have, then, day and night linked together with as much of stringency as any two facts of experience can well be. They are, to all intents and purposes, co-instantaneous. As thus modified, I now repeat Mr. Mansel's statement. "I may imagine the sun rising and setting as now a hundred years, and afterwards remaining continually fixed in the meridian. Yet my experience of the alternations of day and night have been at least as invariable as of the geometrical properties of bodies." How comes it to pass that, with this uniform linking of day with night, the conception should be so easy of the sun standing still, either in the east, or in the west, and yet

that it should be impossible to conceive two sides of a triangle being half of the third side, or two straight lines enclosing a space. We have always seen snow white and grass green. But we can conceive of snow being blue and grass yellow. The greenness of grass has been as common an association as the one which enables us to state in one proposition that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, or that two parallel lines can never meet. How comes it that you can separate the conceptions *snow* and *whiteness* in an instant, and grass and greenness, and the sky and blueness; and yet you cannot, by any stretch of imagination, separate from parallel lines the property of never meeting. The following sentence of Mr. Mill may be ranked among the modern curiosities of literature:—"Had but experience afforded a case of illusion in which two straight lines, after intersecting, had appeared again to approach, the counter-association formed might have been sufficient to render such a supposition imaginable, and defeat the supposed necessity of thought." It appears, then, if experience had presented us with something wearing the aspect of straight lines converging after intersection, it would have been an illusion. But why an illusion? Why may it not be a fact; a new, actual phenomenon. To proclaim such an appearance an illusion is surely to speak from a much higher ground than is logically accessible to one who is the expounder of a mere experimental philosophy which renounces all primitive and necessary judgments. We know that experience can do wonderful things. It can present us with Siamese Twins and a veritable Tom Thumb, and calves with two heads; and we can easily conceive of a race of men with a supplementary eye in the centre of the forehead, and another in the cerebellum, that they might thus look fore and aft; but how comes it to pass that while of these things some do exist and others are easy of conception, the meeting of two



straight lines, after intersection, should not only be *inconceivable*, but proclaimed an illusion, even in the very words in which the absurd fancy is expressed? Can Mr. Mill *conceive* of these lines meeting? Can he conceive of any world, or any condition of things, in which they would meet? Can he conceive of any creature, in any world, in whose experience they would not only *seem* to meet, but *actually* meet. I know that a squint can make one apple *seem* two; but does Mr. Mill imagine that, in any world, one apple can *be* two, and that if Mr. Mansel had his first choice there would be another left for Mr. Mill?

He tells us of an ingenious thinker, who was able to give the idea of a constitution of nature in which all mankind might have believed that two straight lines could enclose a space. What is meant here by a constitution of nature, I am at a loss to know. The phrase is so conveniently general, that it will hold as much or as little as you choose to put into it. Nor is it quite easy to know whether he means by mankind, mankind as it now is, or mankind as it might or would be, in that new constitution of nature. If man be supposed to retain his present qualities and powers, both of mind and body, and this new constitution should lead him to believe that two straight lines could enclose a space, this belief would either arise from the fact that in that wonderful universe they *would* enclose a space, or would *seem* to do. The former alternative I discount as absolutely inconceivable, even by Mr. Mill's ingenious friend. If they would only *seem* to meet and enclose a space, but not meet in reality, and men would believe that they did meet, though they did not, then Mr. Mill's friend can give, it appears, an idea of a constitution of nature in which mankind would *unanimously*, and on principle, and by what would be to them a *necessity*, believe what is not true. But, sooth to say, both Mr. Mill and his friend are at fault, in their forgetting that we are not

dealing with straight sticks, or pokers, or lines of rail, but with straight *lines*, as they are treated by mathematicians; and, with all deference to the thaumaturgy of the unknown philosopher, I venture to say, that no change whatever in the constitution of external nature would make the *slightest* change in the judgment mankind would form concerning straight lines; and that if the new constitution of nature included man, and operated such a change in him that he should no longer believe that two straight lines could not enclose a space, it might be lawful to doubt whether this was *mankind*, or another kind, or if it were mankind, we should certainly deem it so curious a kind of man as to deserve and require a separate asylum, in which, whether by straight lines or crooked ones, he should be safely enclosed from all contact with men whose mathematical conceptions are of the stamp which now prevail in our world. There is no limit to the brood of absurdities engendered in the womb of this philosophy, which makes an essential difference between what I hold to be foundation-truths, which are anterior to experience as regulative forms and necessities of thought, and those truths which may be demonstrated to be the educts of experience. According to Mr. Mill, it only requires a new order of association to break down and falsify these primitive judgments, and even to reverse their teachings. In the world fashioned in the brain of his ingenious friend, the circumference of a circle may be one-twentieth part of its diameter, the four angles of a square may be equal to four-and-twenty right angles, the square on the smallest side of a triangle may be equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides, things equal to the same thing may be double of each other, one straight line may enclose a space, the square of  $(a + b)$  may be  $a^2 + b^2 + 36ab$ , the square root of 4 may be 3 and  $\frac{2}{3}$ , nay, the relation of any one thing to any other thing may be

*anything* you please. All this might be if only new associations could be started. But did not Mr. Mill see that the judgment of consciousness is, that *no new* associations can be started on such matters as these, nay, cannot even be *conceived*; for thus boldly do I discard the fantastic world of his ingenious friend? Doubtless, the reckless manner in which Dr. Whewell,\* in his *Inductive Philosophy*, multiplied primitive judgments, confounding with them convictions that are clearly derived, has had not a little to do in creating the extreme reaction which is represented by Mr. Mill; but I will venture to predict, that posterity will regard this phase of Mr. Mill's philosophy as shallow and unsatisfactory, and will wonder that a man so acute should have given the sanction of his great name to an analysis which leaves unexplained the main element which required explanation.

#### LATENT MODIFICATIONS.

In the next chapter, which treats of Sir William Hamilton's doctrine of unconscious mental modifications, Mr. Mill's criticism is sharp, thorough, and triumphant. He exposes with deserved trenchancy the manifest contradiction in which Hamilton has involved himself. By unconscious mental modification, Hamilton means operations of mind which, in their process, are *out of* consciousness, but which, in their *result*, are revealed in consciousness. Now, the question is not whether there are not such operations, but whether it is competent for Sir William Hamilton to maintain the affirmative in consistency with other portions of his philosophy. He has said, "Every act

\* Since this sentence was penned, the illustrious Philosopher whose name I have mentioned has passed away; and I cannot resist the melancholy pleasure of paying my personal tribute of respect, shared, I doubt not, by every member of this Society, to the memory of one of the ablest men of the present century. The lustre he shed was not merely British, but European, and even world-wide; and the day is far distant when men shall have forgotten William Whewell, the author of the *History and the Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*.

of mind is an act of consciousness:” “We must say of all our states of mind, whatever they may be, that it can be nothing else than it is *felt* to be. Its very essence consists in being felt; and when it is not felt it is *not*.” These are expressions which most assuredly debar Sir William from holding a doctrine of latent modifications.

The first instance which he adduces in proof of this doctrine is in the following terms:—“I know a science, a language, not merely while I make a temporary use of it, but inasmuch as I can apply it when and how I will. Thus, the infinitely greater part of our spiritual treasures lies always beyond the sphere of consciousness, hid in the obscure recesses of the mind.”

Now mark Mill’s reply: “But this storehouse, I submit, is not an unconscious action or passion of the mind. It is not a mental state, but a capability of being put into a mental state. When I am not thinking of a thing, it is not present to my mind at all. It may become present when something happens to recal it; but it is not latently present now; no more than any physical thing which I may have hoarded up. . . . I have the power to walk across the room, though I am sitting in my chair; but we should hardly call this power a *latent act* of walking.” This is fair, and, in our opinion, conclusive.

A second sort of latency is described by Sir William as follows:—“It exists when the mind contains systems of knowledge, or certain habits of action, which it is wholly unconscious of possessing in its ordinary state, but which are revealed to consciousness in certain extraordinary exaltations of its powers. The evidence on this point shows that the mind frequently contains whole systems of knowledge which, though in our normal state they have passed into absolute oblivion, may, in certain abnormal states, as madness, febrile delirium, somnambulism, catalepsy, &c., flash

out into human consciousness, and even throw into the shade of unconsciousness those other systems by which they had, for a long period, been eclipsed, and even extinguished."

Mill replies—"These, however, are not cases of latent states of mind, but of a very different thing—of latent memory. It is not the mental impressions that are latent, but the power of reproducing them. Every one admits, without any apparatus of proof, that we have powers and susceptibilities of which we are not conscious; but these are capabilities of being affected, not actual affections. I have the susceptibility of being poisoned by prussic acid, but this susceptibility is not a present phenomenon, instantly taking place in my body without my perceiving it. The capability of being poisoned is not a present modification of my body; nor is the capability I perhaps have of recollecting, should I become delirious, something which I have forgotten while sane, a present modification of my mind. These are future, contingent states, not present, actual ones. The real question is, can I undergo a present, actual modification without being aware of it?"

The third case of latent mental modifications is the following: "mental activities and passivities of which we are unconscious, but which manifest their existence by effects of which we are conscious?" Sir William Hamilton decides that there are, and even "that what we are conscious of is constructed out of what we are not conscious of; that the sphere of our conscious modifications is only a small circle in the centre of a far wider sphere of action and passion, of which we are only conscious through its effects." Sir William gives several examples, for the purpose of illustrating this position, and of these the following is one:—"The murmur of the sea is a sum made up of parts, and the sum would be as zero if the parts did not count as something. If the noise of each wave made no impression on

our sense, the noise of the sea, as the result of those impressions, could not be realised. But the noise of each several wave, at the distance we suppose, is inaudible; we must, however, admit that they produce a certain modification, beyond consciousness, on the percipient subject, for this is necessarily involved in the reality of their result."

Mill's reply is as follows:—"It is a curious question how Sir William Hamilton failed to perceive that an unauthorised assumption has slipped into his argument. Because the '*minimum visibile*' consists of parts (as we know through the microscope), and because the '*minimum visibile*' produces an impression on our sense of sight, he jumps to the conclusion that each one of the parts does so too. But it is a supposition consistent with what we know of nature that a certain *quantity* of the cause may be a necessary condition to the production of *any* of the effect. The '*minimum visibile*' would, on that supposition, *be* this certain quantity, and the two halves into which we can conceive it divided, though each contributing its half to the formation of that which produces vision, would not each separately produce half of the vision, the concurrence of both being necessary to produce any vision whatever. And so of the distant murmur of the sea: the agency which produces it is made up of the rolling of many different waves, each of which, if sufficiently near, would affect us with a perceptible sound; but at the distance at which they are it may require the rolling of many waves to excite an amount of vibration in the air sufficient, when enfeebled by extension, to produce any effect whatever on our auditory nerves, and through them on our *mind*. The supposition that each wave affects the mind separately because their aggregate affects it, is therefore, to say the least, an unproved hypothesis." In all this we believe Mr. Mill to be invulnerable, and the sequel of the chapter is in admirable keeping with the portions I have just cited.

## CAUSATION.

The accusation which I have brought against Mr. Mill in a previous part of my paper is verified most signally in his treatment of the *causal judgment*. His chapter on this subject, while distinguished for considerable acumen in the criticism of Hamilton's theory, no sooner comes to the constructive part than its failure is seen at every step. Let us state what *is* the "causal judgment" as a matter of psychological experience. We see a phenomenon begin to be, or, if you will, we see a *change*. This awakens at once the conviction that there must be a condition, or conditions, which have determined the change. It is necessary that we fully exhaust the judgment in our exposition of it, and that we have no residual element that has not received expression. If we hear a window crash, and see its fragments falling at our feet, by a law of our constitution, either *original* or *generated*, we immediately draw the conclusion that this new phenomenon is not self-produced. If you seek to render the feeling in words, it will not be enough to say that there *may have been* a cause which broke the window, with its correlative possibility that there *may not*. The mind has a fuller conviction than this, and not merely fuller but different, for as a matter of fact no man, from philosopher down to idiot, ever *practically* admitted the correlative possibility that there may have been *no* cause for the change in the condition of the window, which a moment ago was whole, but is now broken. I say no man *practically* admits such an alternative. Mr. Mill's language, in which he seems, with a courage truly astonishing, to give theoretic affirmation to this position, we shall presently consider. What, then, remains in this "*causal judgment*" which has not been yet expressed? Is it enough to say there "has been a cause which has broken the window," though for the time being,

you will observe, we know nothing of it, whether it was a stone, or a turnip, or a lump of lead, and we know not whether it was thrown by a boy, or a girl, or a man, and whether it was thrown by accident or by design? Is the causal conviction now *fully* explicated, when we have said "there has been a cause"? I would venture to make the appeal to the universal consciousness of man, with no fear as to its prompt and unanimous deliverance, that there yet remains a deeper feeling, without which this *categorical* statement would have no basis whatever; that this feeling is, "every effect *must* have a cause"; and that the individual utterance we pronounce in any given case of phenomenal change, that it has had its *cause*, grounds itself on the catholic and underlying, and, as I believe, original and primordial persuasion, that every effect *must have its cause*.

After discussing the various attempts of philosophers to analyse this causal judgment, Sir William Hamilton propounds his own, which, I confess, has always seemed to me to be one of the weakest points in his philosophy. He makes it to be a result of the "mental law of the conditioned." He deems his theory to be recommended by its cheapness and simplicity. "It postulates," he says, "no express, no positive principle; it merely supposes that the mind is limited, the law of limitation, the law of the conditioned, constituting, in one of its applications, the law of causality."\* Again, he says, "It [that is, my theory] does not maintain that the judgment of causality is dependent on a *power* of the mind, imposing, as necessary in thought, what is necessary in the universe of existence. It does not at once universally affirm and specially deny; include without exception, and yet except. On the contrary, it resolves the judgment into a mere mental *impotence*, an impotence without either of two contradictories."

\* *Philosophical Discussions*, Part vi. 1. 18.



Now, this theory of Sir William Hamilton is obnoxious, in my opinion, to several objections. It comes, he says, recommended by its cheapness, in that it postulates no express and positive principle; and Sir William here, as elsewhere, is laudably anxious to apply his admirable law of parsimony, which he gives in the following terms:—“Neither more, nor more onerous causes, are to be assumed than are necessary to account for the phenomena.” But I venture to suggest that the law of sufficiency is as important a law as that of parsimony, and that as much, or as many causes, must be assumed as are *competent* to account for the phenomena. And his exposition of the law of *causality* fails through defectiveness. The element of *necessity* in our consciousness, when we feel or affirm that every effect must have a cause, results, he says, from our *inability* to conceive an absolute commencement, that is, a thing starting into being as it were of its own accord. That there is this inability is not denied. It is not denied that it forms a most important part of the causal judgment. But we hold that the whole fact of consciousness, in so far as it asserts the necessity of a cause for every phenomenon, includes, not merely the “negative impotence” that we are unable to conceive of an absolute commencement, but the positive *potence* of conceiving that no thing can absolutely begin to be. Sir William holds that when a man affirms every effect *must* have a cause, he means nothing more than that he is *unable* to conceive it otherwise. On the contrary, I maintain that he means this, and something more; not only that he is unable to conceive an effect without a cause, but that he is *able* to conceive that no effect can be without a cause, and that the whole fact of consciousness is not exhausted in any philosophic exposition which does not combine both the negative and positive elements.

Again: If the causal judgment is purely a negative

impotence, on what ground does Sir William defend the existence of any positive primordial principles whatever? No philosopher insists more strongly on the fact, that we have within us regulative underived laws of thought. Who has insisted more than he on the absolute existence of space and time as conditions of thought? But why should he make the causal judgment an exceptional thing? The whole of his primordial principles may be, *with equal propriety*, ranked under the negative impotence to *think otherwise*. "Is the whole greater than its part?" Sir William would affirm this to be a positive datum of consciousness. Space and time he asserts to be equally positive conditions of all thought. But may we not retort upon him his causal theory, and assert that the judgment that the whole is greater than its part amounts to no more than that we are *unable* to conceive of the relations being reversed, or in anywise altered; and that the whole of those fundamental data upon which the entire fabric of our reasoning is reared are nothing more than an inability to think them otherwise than as now we think them? If a thing exist, it must, we say, exist in time: it must also exist in space. But why should the *must* in this case possess a positiveness of quality which Sir William denies to the *must* in the proposition that "*every effect must have a cause*"? So far as the deliverance of consciousness is concerned, these judgments are equally positive or equally negative.

But another objection, which seems to us fatal to Sir William's exposition of the causal judgment, is this, that it leaves us to the mercy of a remorseless scepticism. This was far from his intention; but the result is not less chargeable with this tremendous drawback. There is one principle which plays an important part in Sir William's philosophy, which he announces again and again, and which, rightly applied, is one of the most valuable canons

of thought, alike in metaphysical, theological, and scientific inquiries. It is this: that our powers of conception are not commensurate with the possibilities of things; that the Protagorean dogma of the mind being *το τῶν παντῶν μέτρον* must be received with great caution and multiplied limitations. Sir William insists with emphasis and iteration upon this valuable law, but he does not always see the vengeful havoc it makes with some of his own theories, and with his theory of causation as notably as any. Let us put in combination the two positions, which to us seem fraught with such destructive consequences. The first is, "Our causal judgment that every effect *must* have a cause is only a negative impotence, and means that we are *unable* to conceive of an uncaused phenomenon." The second is, "We are not, however, to constitute our power of conception into the measure of the possible in fact." The result of these two propositions is plainly this: that while we are unable to conceive of an effect without a cause, such a thing may nevertheless be, for we must not imagine that our mind can compass all possibilities. That is, just outside our farthest stretch of thought may lie the very thing which we have declared to be inconceivable. And as the inconceivable may not only be possible, but actually existent, so an uncaused effect, though inconceivable, may be possible; that is, the world, supposing it to be an effect, or to have had a beginning if you will, might have had its beginning without any pre-existent and determining power. Atheism of the blankest kind may, availing itself of these two principles, claim the most respectful consideration. With that scientific humility—that "*inscientia erudita*," which Sir William illustrates with such remarkable power—the Atheist may come, and when challenged as to his folly in rejecting a personal God as the creator of the universe, he may say, I exclude him by the law of philosophical parsimony.

It is true that I cannot conceive of any thing absolutely beginning to be. This is a law of "negative impotence" which conditions and bounds my powers of thought. But I have been instructed by Sir William Hamilton not to constitute my mind into the measure of the possibilities of things, and therefore I conclude, that though unable to conceive of the world absolutely beginning to be without a cause, it might nevertheless so begin. From this conclusion, legitimately drawn from the premises which are found in Sir William's philosophy, in its application to the causal judgment, there may be a valid and safe escape; but I confess, that while as a student I had vague and faint glimmerings that there was defect in his theory, every subsequent year has only served to brighten these glimmerings into strong convictions; and now, it is with great reluctance that I have ventured so publicly to record my dissent from one to whose influence I am so largely indebted, even for the discipline and the courage which have enabled me to occupy on this important question a position at issue with that of my master.

But if at issue with Sir William Hamilton, I am not less so with Mr. Mill, who has explained what never needed it, and has left the real question virtually untouched. For his doctrine in its fullness it is needful to look at his logic, as well as his recent examination of Sir William Hamilton. The element, you will remember, which has to be accounted for in the *causal* judgment, is that of necessity; and the question is, is this element native, original, regulative, or is it the result of experience, engendered by, and built up out of, individual instances of observed sequences? Mr. Mill maintains that the judgment in question is purely an empirical one; the facts being supplied by experience, and elaborated by the law of association. The element of *necessity* is, according to him, not a simple one, innate,

presiding over all our thinkings in regard to phenomena, and their determinant circumstances; but a composite result, a sort of generalisation from a number, greater or smaller, of observed connections between *A* as an antecedent, and *B* as a consequent. What does experience actually furnish? It furnishes individual cases of connection, as between *A* as an antecedent and *B* as a consequent, or *C* as an antecedent and *D* as a consequent. It supplies us with all the facts requisite for a scientific induction, by means of which we arrive at what we term general laws. But then, the conviction that every effect *must* have a cause is altogether independent of these individual instances. They supply us with a knowledge of the specific relations which one event bears to another in the shape of *unvarying* antecedence and consequence. Mr. Mill employs the word *invariable* in connection with this matter; but his philosophy is wholly incompetent to supply him with a term so absolute and transcendent. *Unvarying* is the utmost limit to which his empirical philosophy can carry him; and the frequency with which he serves himself of the nomenclature of a profounder philosophy is, perhaps, an unconscious indication that even he has more within his consciousness than his system has ever expressed. An *invariable* sequence is a sequence which *cannot* vary; but at the most he can speak only of a sequence which, so far as he knows, *has* never varied.

If the "*causal* judgment," with its element of necessity, were the empirical product of a certain number of observations, we might naturally infer that it would be at its minimum in childhood, and would grow stronger as life advanced. But what is the fact? Is it at its minimum in childhood, and at its maximum in old age? So far from this, no one who has watched the movements even of very young children can have failed to see that they look out as instinctively and earnestly for a cause as they do at any sub-

sequent period of their life. They do not know as much of specific causes, but the conviction that every event or phenomenon must have its cause, is as firm in the very spring of their age as in its autumn. In those cases in which our beliefs are engendered solely by observation, the belief grows more compact and immovable with every new confirmatory fact we may note. The circumstance that *B* has followed *A* once, is felt to have but little value in the way of warranting the inference that *A* is the cause of *B*. But if *B* follows *A* with a uniformity which has no breach either in our experience or in that of others, so far as we are able to gather it, we then find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that *A* is the cause of *B*; and the conclusion acquires greater force with every new instance of the connexion which we perceive. But while this is true of all purely empirical laws, it most assuredly is *not* the case with the *causal* judgment, which experience can do nothing either to strengthen or to enfeeble.

We cannot but admire the hardihood with which Mr. Mill, in his chapter on "Universal Causation," says, "I am convinced that anyone accustomed to abstraction and analysis, who will fairly exert his faculties for the purpose, will, when his imagination has once learnt to entertain the notion, find no difficulty in conceiving that in some one, for instance, of the many firmaments into which sidereal astronomy now divides the universe, events may succeed one another at random, without any fixed law; nor can anything in our experience, or in our mental nature, constitute a sufficient, or, indeed, any reason for believing that this is nowhere the case."

Now this imaginary case has simply nothing to do with the question before us. That the laws of causation, or the order of dependencies of event on event, may be wholly different in some other firmament from what it is in

ours is not denied. There may, for aught we can tell, be a world in which, from the rapid changes which take place in the character of antecedents and consequents, no one can calculate on what shall be the aspect of matters from hour to hour. In such a world the science of induction would be impossible. But then, when Mr. Mill speaks of events succeeding each other "at random," he surely cannot imagine that he is here invalidating the element of necessity as found in the *causal* judgment. The *randomness* only interferes with the uniformity of the order of nature in such a capricious world; it does not interfere with the fact that even there every effect *must have its cause*. He had just before affirmed, that "there is not one of these supposed instinctive beliefs which is really universal. It is in the power of everyone to cultivate habits of thought which make him independent of them." On the contrary, I hold that the belief, or conviction, that every effect must have a cause *is universal*; and that it is utterly beyond the compass of the most subtle thinker to conceive any phenomenon flashing into fact without at once referring it to some determining condition, known or unknown. The whole chapter of Mr. Mill on Causation, in his examination of Sir William Hamilton, is marked by a carelessness, both of thought and expression, which contrasts painfully with the remarkable acuteness and subtlety which distinguish so large a portion of his volume. A very lengthy paper might be devoted to illustrations and proofs of the statement, and a few sentences are all I can now afford, before passing on to other matters. He tells us, for example, at page 295, that "it is *events*, that is to say, *changes*, not *substances*, that are subject to the law of causation." But how is such a sentiment competent to Mr. Mill, who, as he professes to know nothing of *substance*, cannot be authorised to deny that there may be the law of causation at work there, as well

as among the phenomena which arrest our senses? Again; he says, "nothing is caused but events." Here he escapes once more from the strict letter of his philosophy; for he surely cannot categorically deny that the world was created; and if it were created, then *substance* was caused; or, if he *deny* the world to be substance, he again breaks bounds, denying *that* which at the most he can consistently only doubt.

#### PHILOSOPHY OF THE CONDITIONED.

Mr. Mill's chapter on the Philosophy of the Conditioned is one of the ablest in the book. Here he vindicates the positivity of our conception of the Infinite, as against Hamilton's doctrine of its negativity, and in my opinion with complete success. His triumphant maintenance of the positivity, as against Hamilton, equally involves the overthrow of Mansel, who adopted Hamilton's views, and carried them out to issues from which, I venture to think, Hamilton would have recoiled. In holding, with Mill, that our conception of the Infinite is *positive*, let us not be misunderstood. I do not contend for a conception which is adequate, complete, inclusive — a conception, in fact, which would amount to a *comprehension*. From its very nature the Infinite must ever transcend the faculties of a finite creature.

In 1858 I had taken the same ground which Mr. Mill occupies, in a Review, from which I may be permitted to cite the following extract: "In claiming for the mind something more than what is termed a merely negative conception of the Infinite, we are careful to distinguish between a positive *notion* and a positive *comprehension*; and we cannot but suspect that Mr. Mansel's reasoning is based on the confusion of these two ideas. Without entering at large upon the whole question at issue, between what we may denominate the positive and negative



schools, we wish to draw attention to a significant admission, made both by Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Mansel. While repudiating the positive notion of the Infinite, they both acknowledge that we possess an *irresistible belief* in it. We confess ourselves unable to understand a psychology which allows so strange a schism in the soul as is involved in such a distinction. Unable to find the Infinite in our conception, we are remitted to faith. We do not conceive the Infinite, but we believe it. The question is forced upon us, Believe what? Faith must have some object on which it is exercised, and what is the object furnished to it in the present case? It will not surely be contended by any one that there is such a mental experience as a negative faith. All faith, we imagine, is sufficiently positive. It is faith in something, and something which, before it receives the affiance of the mind or heart, must have been previously notionalised. Are we to suppose that faith is endowed with a creative faculty, or at least with such a power of alchemy that it can transmute that which is negative while a conception into a conviction that shall be positive? Whether the material of our faith come from our sense-experiences or our intuitions, the faith can be no more positive than the experiences or the intuitions. And to speak of that becoming a *potence* in faith, which is an *impotence* in thought, is, in our judgment, to trifle with language. A word or two in defence of our statement, that our conception is always as positive as our belief, may serve to clear up the confusion which has gathered around not only this, but many correlative subjects. It has been frequently asserted that we do and must believe many things of which we can form no conception. This language contains a fallacy, which the following illustrations may serve to expose. The physiologist says, 'I believe in life, though what life is is to me inconceivable.'

“This psychological analysis of the *ύλη*, or objective matter of faith, from which it appears that faith has neither a creative nor transmutative power, but is the deliberate surrender of the soul to truth already, in some positive degree, formulated by conception, is, we think, conclusive against the doctrine espoused by Mr. Mansel. There can be no such thing as faith in nothing, and this, because *nothing* is absolutely inconceivable. Faith must exercise itself on realities existent, or conceived at least to exist. In expounding the object of our faith, we are compelled to expound the object of our conception without addition or diminution; and if our conception be negative, our faith must be negative too. But, in truth, we must confess that we have failed, after taxing our powers of thought to the utmost, to catch the faintest glimpse of what kind of mental experience a negative conception or a negative faith is. The denial of one contradictory is the affirmation of the other. If light and darkness are exhaustive predicaments, to deny light is to affirm darkness, and to deny darkness is to affirm light. If vice and virtue cover the whole territory of moral predicables, the negation of vice is the same thing as the affirmation of virtue. If finite and infinite are terms of correlation which instantaneously and, of necessity, suggest each other, then to deny the infinite is to affirm the finite, and *vice versa*. With Mr. Mansel we maintain that we have an irresistible belief in the infinite: against Mr. Mansel we hold that this is impossible, except as determined and guaranteed by a corresponding conception; for beliefs are but conceptions receiving the consent and surrender of the mind. The doctrine which resolves our notion of the Infinite into a mere negative impotence is thus shown to postulate for faith a function which demonstrably it does not possess; and it cuts us off from all knowledge of an infinite God; for as the bridge of faith is constructed out of the materials

provided and fashioned by conception, it must partake of their intrinsic weakness. Take away the positive conception, and, as faith cannot support itself on nothing, it must become annihilated with the foundation on which alone it can stand."

When, however, Mr. Mill comes to deal with Mr. Mansel's application of the doctrine of the Infinite and the Absolute, he stumbles and falls. Mr. Mansel maintains that *Infinite goodness* is different, not in degree only, but in *kind*, from finite goodness. Now it was perfectly competent for Mr. Mill to maintain that the difference is only *in degree*. This he does, but in such a manner and spirit as to leave a serious blot on a book otherwise singularly free from acerbity, and an *odium* which is at once both *theologicum* and *philosophicum*.

"Here, then," says Mr. Mill, "I take my stand on the acknowledged principle of logic and of morality, that when we mean different things we have no right to call them by the same name, and to apply to them the same predicates, moral and intellectual. Language has no meaning for the words Just, Merciful, and Benevolent, save that in which we predicate them of our fellow-creatures; and unless that is what we intend to express by them, we have no business to employ the words. If in affirming them of God we do not mean to affirm these very qualities, differing only as greater in degree, we are neither philosophically nor morally entitled to affirm them at all. If it be said that the qualities are the same, but that we cannot conceive them as they are when raised to the infinite, I grant that we cannot adequately conceive them in one of their elements—their infinity. But we can conceive them in their other elements, which are the very same in the infinite as in the finite development. Anything carried to the infinite must have all the properties of the same thing as finite, except those which depend upon the

finiteness. Among the many who have said that we cannot conceive infinite space, did anyone ever suppose that it is not space? that it does not possess all the properties by which space is characterised? Infinite space cannot be cubical or spherical, because these are modes of being bounded: but does anyone imagine that in ranging through it we might arrive at some region which was not extended; of which one part was not outside another; where, though no body interfered, motion was impossible; or where the sum of two sides of a triangle was less than the third side? The parallel assertion may be made respecting infinite goodness. What belongs to it as infinite (or more properly as absolute) I do not pretend to know; but I know that infinite goodness must be goodness, and that what is not consistent with goodness is not consistent with infinite goodness. If, in ascribing goodness to God, I do not mean what I mean by goodness; if I do not mean the goodness of which I have some knowledge, but an incomprehensible attribute of an incomprehensible substance, which for aught I know may be a totally different quality from that which I love and venerate—and even must, if Mr. Mansel is to be believed, be in some important particulars opposed to this—what do I mean by calling it goodness? and what reason have I for venerating it? If I know nothing about what the attribute is, I cannot tell that it is a proper object of veneration. To say that God's goodness may be different in kind from man's goodness, what is it but saying, with a slight change of phraseology, that God may possibly not be good? To assert in words what we do not think in meaning is as suitable a definition as can be given of a moral falsehood. Besides, suppose that certain unknown attributes are ascribed to the Deity, in a religion, the external evidences of which are so conclusive to my mind as effectually to convince me that it comes from God; unless I believe God to possess the same

moral attributes which I find, in however inferior a degree, in a good man, what ground of assurance have I of God's veracity? All trust in a Revelation pre-supposes a conviction that God's attributes are the same, in all but degree, with the best human attributes. If, instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a Being in whom all the excellencies which the highest human mind can conceive exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a Being whose attributes are Infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that 'the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving' does not sanction them, convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this Being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say, in plain terms, that I will not. Whatever power such a Being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do: he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no Being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a Being can sentence me to hell, for not so calling him, to hell I will go."

I say nothing of the taste of this paragraph. It is with its logic I have now to do, and it is not difficult to shew that a more inconclusive series of sentences was never penned. Mr. Mill "takes his stand on the acknowledged principle of logic and morality." But how is an appeal to *morality* competent to him on the basis of his purely empirical philosophy? There is not an atom of morality which can have place in a scheme of speculation which is built wholly out of sensations. Other men might well be angry with Mr. Mansel, but it is unseemly and illogical for Mr. Mill to get into a rage.

But again; Mr. Mill declares his willingness to go to hell

rather than believe in such a Being as he thinks is described by Mr. Mansel. But in such a Being Mr. Mill does not believe, and therefore his courageous resolution is a very cheap affair, as any man can be bold enough in the presence of what he esteems to be a nonentity.

But further ; Mr. Mill sinks into the most arrant nonsense in the very terms in which he declares that he will not believe in such a Being, or will not believe in his *goodness*. Did ever a professed logician commit such manifest suicide ? " Whatever power," he says, " such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he *shall* not do—he shall not compel me to worship him." Did not Mr. Mill see that "*whatever power*" may mean Infinite power, and that *Infinite* power might make Mr. Mill worship him ? Nay, did he not further see that, according to his own philosophy, that even what we term *instinctive* and necessary judgments are simply the results of association, his *own* moral judgments might be reversed in a moment in a new condition of things by an Infinite God, and that what he now denominates justice might then seem injustice, and *vice versa* ? For a man who believes that two straight lines may enclose a space, and that twice two may make five, in some other world, to talk so largely about the absolute certainty of his moral judgments, and defy even Omnipotence to alter them, is to commit one of the grossest philosophical blunders to be found in the domain of modern speculation. Mr. Mill has written much—so much, that he forgets in one place what he has written in another; and here he has forgotten what he wrote in his work on *Liberty*, page 10 :—" We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavouring to stifle is a false opinion, and if we were sure, stifling it would be an evil still." Now if we can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavouring to stifle is a *false opinion*, we can never be sure that *our own opinion* is the true opinion. What, then, can

Mr. Mill mean by his rashness in defying God and welcoming hell, on the strength of an opinion which may be absolutely false? With his philosophy there is not the least reason why any man should suffer himself to be enthusiastic in the defence of any opinion, and none certainly why he should run the unpleasant risk of martyrdom, purgatory, or hell.

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF MATTER.

A few remarks on one other point must bring my paper to an end. Mr. Mill does not believe in *substance*, either in its application to mind or matter. Mind is with him only a series of phenomena. "Neither mind nor matter," he says, "is anything but a permanent possibility of feeling." Now this theory of the mind, in my opinion, overthrows the whole of his psychological system. It cannot account for memory. A year ago I was in Paris: I remember the fact. What is it that *remembers* and calls up the fact, and appropriates it as one which pertains to me? And what is the *one* to which it pertains? Does Mr. Mill mean seriously to affirm that a *series* of mental states can be conscious of itself? If a series of mental states cannot be conscious of itself, what is it which retraverses the by-gone years, and refreshes and rekindles within the sphere of consciousness the events which have marked our history? What is that perduring entity, with its mysterious sense of unity and personality? Hear what Mr. Mill himself is compelled to acknowledge with respect to memory: "The thread of consciousness, which composes the mind's phenomenal life, consists, not only of present sensations, but likewise in part of memories and expectations. Now, what are these? In themselves they are present feelings, states of present consciousness, and in that respect not distinguished from sensations. They all, moreover, resemble some given sensations or feelings of which we have

previously had experience. But they are attended with the peculiarity that each of them involves a belief in more than its own present existence. A sensation involves only this, but a remembrance of sensation, even if not referred to any particular date, involves the suggestion and belief that a sensation, of which it is a copy or representation, actually existed in the past; and an expectation involves the belief, more or less positive, that a sensation, or other feeling, to which it directly refers, will exist in the future. Nor can the phenomena involved in these two states of consciousness be adequately expressed without saying that the belief they include is, that I myself formerly had, or that I myself, and no other, shall hereafter have the sensations remembered or expected. The fact believed is that the sensations did actually form, or will hereafter form, part of the self-same series of states or thread of consciousness, of which the remembrance or expectation of those sensations is the part now present. If, therefore, we speak of the mind as a series of feelings, we are obliged to complete the statement by calling it a series of feelings which is aware of itself as past and future; and we are reduced to the alternative of believing that the mind, or *ego*, is something different from any series of feelings, or possibilities of them; or of accepting the paradox that something, which, *ex hypothesi*, is but a series of feelings, can be aware of itself as a series. . . . I think by far the wisest thing we can do is to accept the inexplicable fact without any theory of how it takes place; and, when we are obliged to speak of it in terms which assume a theory, to use them with a reservation as to their meaning.”\*

Accept the *inexplicable fact*! But the inexplicable fact is one which his philosophy has created, and which raises his philosophy to its foundation. In endeavouring to analyse the consciousness of *personality*, and distribute it into a series

\* Pages 212, 213.



of feelings, he is at every step quietly taking the element of personality along with him. If I remember a hundred things in the order in which they occurred to me on any given day, or in any given year, there is a something which appropriates them all as belonging to itself, and which says, *I* saw them, *I* felt them. This *I* is, as an existence, conscious that it is independent of *any* given series of feelings; that it would be the same *I* as a personality under any conceivable conditions. It not only does not feel that it is constituted out of a series of sensations of any kind soever, but that no one link in any series could have existed without it; and that the series is only realised *as* a series, and as a series having place in one thinking being, in virtue of that sublime and ultimate fact, which shows our personality standing revealed in its own light. This consciousness is, I have said, ultimate, and as such incapable of analysis; and to make it the product of all the elements in a series, when neither series nor any link in it could exist without it; to seek to generate it experientially when there is not one fact in our experience which does not already presuppose and demand it, is in my opinion as absurd as to say, that we create space by moving, when every movement we take requires space as a pre-condition; or that we create time by feeling a series of pulsations, when their successive throbs are felt only to be successive because the notion of time is already in the mind as one of its regulative forms of thought.

ELEVENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, March 19th, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

The Rev. John Sephton, M. A., was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following communication was then read :—

OBSERVED FACTS IN THE NATURAL HISTORY  
OF THE *CHIRONOMUS PLUMOSUS*.

BY ALFRED HIGGINSON, M. R. C. S.

DURING the summer months of 1865 (say from May to October) I noticed the prevalence of red worms in a large earthen water-pot in my garden. These worms, the larvæ of the *Chironomus Plumosus*, attain a length of about one inch. They pass their time chiefly in tubes formed of mud and mucus, which they build on the sides of the pot, or on any object contained within the vessel. If left dry for any length of time, they quit the tubes, and swim for a time in the water. Their mode of progression is curious: the head and tail are brought together, and then immediately reversed; so that the appearance in the water is like a constantly repeated figure of 8, the impression of one circle remaining on the eye till the other is produced. These larvæ exhibit under the microscope powerful jaws, consisting of two upper mandibles and one lower, capable of breaking down vegetable structures. I once saw what I thought a fierce contest between two of these larvæ, but on investigation found that each was entangled by the same fibre, and they were only struggling to escape therefrom.

At the tail end there are appendages, which serve the purpose of respiratory organs. There are two anterior and two posterior organs of progression, situated on the abdominal surface of the body, each having at its extremity a sucking disc, surrounded by numerous hooks, and capable of being retracted and protruded as required.

In this larva, as in that of the gnat described by Dr. Carpenter, the circulation of the blood may be seen, propelled forwards through a dorsal vessel, and returning back-

wards through the abdominal cavity, and surrounding all the viscera.

When fully grown, and transferred to a glass for observation, these larvæ are soon found to change into the pupa state, the skin and jaws being cast off, and forming a not uninteresting object for the microscope. This casting of the skin of the larva is said to take place in the gnat several times during its progress to the pupa condition, but it is not so in the *Chironomus*. The length of time occupied by the larva condition I believe to be variable, depending somewhat on the supply of food while in that state.

The pupa is a very different looking creature from the larva: shorter, and dark in appearance; tail thin, and hairy at the end; head large, and tufted with a respiratory apparatus. The agile movements of the larva are replaced by a bending of the body and an occasional quivering or struggling motion. The cases containing wings, and those containing legs, of the perfect insect, become defined, and at last, by a secretion of air within the pupa, it rises to the surface of the water. I have twice seen the insect make its escape, and the time required is less than I shall need to write its description. The ascent from the depths of the garden-pot being noted, it no sooner reaches the surface than the portion which rises through the water bulges and cracks, and the head and body of the perfect insect come quickly into view. The legs and wings are shot out almost at once, and the insect floats away a few inches on the water, resting on its feet, before it spreads its wings and soars aloft. It was on a Sunday morning that I saw this beautiful phenomenon take place, and certainly the escape of this light and joyous insect, from its dense medium and confined dwelling, into the free air and sunshine, might well typify the rise of man's immortal part into the light and presence of his Maker.

The little voyager, however, has not done with this world.

The male *Chironomus* has large *antennæ*, and the tail is bifid, or furnished with forceps at the extremity. The female has little or no development of *antennæ*, and the tail is unarmed. Now about the eggs: I have seen the insects constantly hovering about the water-pot, and more than once have observed one at the edge of the water, resting, for some time, with its tail downwards. On examining the spot, I have found attached to the vessel a capsule of eggs, such as I will now describe. A gelatinous-looking mass, cylindrical in form, not exceeding three-quarters of an inch in length and one-eighth in diameter, adheres by one extremity to the vessel, the other end being free, and of a rounded form. It is easily compressed on a microscope slide, and found to have a structure of its own, namely, two bands or cords, running through its long diameter, and lateral septa, rather numerous, at right angles to these. In the divisions thus formed, eggs are found to the extent of two hundred or more. These eggs at first appear filled with slightly amber-coloured granular matter, but after a time life is evidenced by movement, and even circulation; the animal at last makes violent and repeated exertions. The sac bulges and gives way, and the larva, a perfect miniature of what I have already described, escapes from the egg. The empty shell may be found long afterwards. The egg is lengthened and flattish, like the seed of a melon, but scarcely visible without a lens. That these larvæ, from the first, feed on vegetable substance, was evident to me, from finding that a few blades of grass inserted into a wine-glass containing them were before long denuded of all their green structure, and the strong fibre alone remained unconsumed.

As already stated, I believe the period of the larva's change into the pupa to depend partly on its power of obtaining food.

At first I imagined this insect to be the gnat, which it a

good deal resembles; but the increasing discrepancies convinced me that I must look beyond the *Culicidæ*, which only comprise the gnat and mosquito. The *Tipulidæ*, or Long-legs, equally belong to the order *Diptera*, but are very numerous, eighty species being said to belong to the genus *Chironomus*. The name seems derivable from the Greek *Chironomeo*, to gesticulate, the insect having the curious habit of carrying the front legs, pointing forwards, both in flying and walking. This position may have reference to its mode of catching its prey, it being said to feed on the *Aphis*.

Professor JEVONS then gave a "Preliminary Account of certain Logical Inventions," the *Logical Abacus* and *Logical Machine*.

He began by remarking upon the aids which we constantly use in thinking and calculating. Words were nothing but mechanical signs, used to represent our thoughts; and philosophers were not without excuse when they doubted whether any true reasoning could be carried on without the use of language. The very name *calculation* pointed to the use of *pebbles* in reckoning; and the similar use of fingers in assisting our remembrance of numbers was the origin of the decimal system of numeration which exists in all civilised nations. Every one must have felt how laborious and uncertain was mental arithmetic, and how great a relief was the use of any sort of signs. He then described the *abacus* or arithmetical board, which had been used by a great many nations, such as the Greeks, Romans, Germans, French, and especially the Chinese. It consisted usually of a small square frame, with several horizontal wires strung with beads, which could be varied in order and made to represent various numbers, so as to facilitate calculations. The possibility of calculating by machinery had been proved by the

celebrated Pascal in the years 1642-5; but it was Mr. Babbage who had shown what extraordinary powers of this kind could be conferred upon machinery. The analytical engine designed by Mr. Babbage had not been completed, but an engine had been made by the Swedish engineer, Scheutz, according to Babbage's designs, and a copy of the Swedish machine was actually in use in the Registrar-General's office in London. The speaker then showed that the rules of logic had always been looked upon as in some degree a mechanical aid, metaphorically speaking, for the operations of mind. Even Bacon, when substituting a new logic and philosophy for that of the middle ages, had strongly insisted, in the second aphorism of his "*Novum Organum*," on the use of mechanical aids. "Neither the unassisted hand, nor the intellect entrusted to itself, can accomplish much. It is by instruments and aids that a work is perfected; and of these there is need, not less for the intellect than for the hand." It was not difficult to understand why hitherto there had been no successful attempt to make a logical machine—indeed, apparently no attempt at all. It was only a series of recent English logicians, Jeremy Bentham, Sir W. Hamilton, Archbishop Thomson, Professor De Morgan, of University College, London, and the late Professor Boole, of Queen's College, Cork, who had sufficiently extended and reformed the old logic to make mechanical aids at all possible. It was from long studying the works of Professor De Morgan and Mr. Boole, and discovering their true meaning, that Mr. Jevons thought he had been led to succeed in devising a mechanical logic.

The instrument called the *logical abacus* was then shown to the society, and several simple, and one or two more complicated, arguments were worked by it. The arrangements were of a very simple character, consisting of a black board with four ledges attached horizontally. A number of

slips of wood with small and large letters printed upon them in various combinations were ranged upon the ledges, and by means of wire pins could be readily classified in any required order. The letters represented the things to which the premises referred, and about which the information was required. The results appeared to be arrived at by gradually rejecting those combinations of letters which were inconsistent with the premises, until only a few remained which contained the required information, and which could then be readily interpreted. The same sets of letter combinations would do for any number of various arguments, the meanings of the letters being properly defined for each beforehand, like the letters *x. y. z., &c.*, in algebra.

Mr. JEVONS further explained that, though in the contrivance which he had finished as yet the motions and arrangements had to be made by hand, it would be easy to have them done in a more mechanical manner, so that when once the meaning and conditions of the question to be argued were clearly understood, it would be almost impossible to make any error in getting the required logical answers.

A discussion then followed, in which the Rev. H. H. Higgins, Mr. Campbell, Mr. J. Macfarlane Gray, Rev. J. Robberds, and Mr. Birch, took part.



## TWELFTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 2nd, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

It was announced from the Council that Mr. Redish had been elected thereon, to fill the vacancy occasioned by Dr. Collingwood's resignation. It was further announced that at the next meeting the Society would have to proceed to the election of an Honorary Secretary.

Dr. Collingwood was proposed as an honorary member by the President, seconded by Dr. Ginsburg, on the recommendation of the Council.

Mr. James A. M'Mullen, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Jones were duly elected ordinary members of the society.

Mr. MOTT exhibited the index to the catalogue of books in the upper hall of the public library of the city of Boston, and made some remarks thereon.

Mr. HIGGINSON exhibited a piece of wrought-iron pipe which had formed part of the internal arrangement of a hot-water cistern in constant use for the last four years. It had become so corroded as to require removal.

The Rev. Dr. Ginsburg having taken the chair, the following paper was then read:—

## ON THE USE OF PROPER NAMES IN PHILOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL INQUIRIES.

BY J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A.

IN the pursuit of philological and ethnological studies, the evidence of proper names forms a most valuable and important element, but there is no class of evidence which requires to be more carefully guarded and placed under restraint. The fatal facility with which a casual resemblance in form or sound can be pressed into the service of any theory has led to deductions of the most extraordinary character. It has been gravely maintained, for instance, that the name of the Greek deity Apollo was derived from the Welsh *Ap-haul*, "The Son of the Sun,"\* and that Osiris, the Egyptian deity, was an Irishman, or at least of Irish descent, and that his name should be written with the apostrophe, O'Siris, as we would write O'Brien or O'Connell.† After that, we may be quite prepared to connect Judy Maccabe with Judas Maccabæus, or Pharaoh king of Egypt with Fergus king of Ulster, both of which have been seriously propounded. Speculations such as these are calculated to throw doubt on all philological inquiries, whilst, when rightly pursued, there is no science more strictly amenable to law, or in which the conclusions are more logically deduced. My object in the present paper is to endeavour to shew the value of proper, as distinguished from common, names in philological and ethnological studies, and to specify the limitations and restrictions necessary to be observed in dealing with them.

\* O'Brien, *Round Towers of Ireland*, 2nd ed., p. 61.

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 106.

The first observation I would make is, that proper names are not *roots*. A root or radical is defined by Max Müller to be, "whatever, in the words of any language or family of languages, cannot be reduced to a simpler or more original form."\* By another learned philologist it is called "a primary sound, conveying some simple idea, which appears under different modifications in the derivatives from it."†

Now it is found, by close analysis, that certain languages, differing very widely at first sight in almost every particular, have their roots in common, and are thus classified into families having a kindred and cognate connexion. These families are few in number, usually limited to three—the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian; which are considered, subject to future inquiry, to embrace all the languages spoken in the world.

In some languages—our own for instance—a true root, that is, a monosyllable conveying a primary idea which has not been modified or changed, is very rare. In Greek and Latin they are more numerous; and, where they have undergone modification, can be frequently traced to their original elements. In Sanskrit and Zend, we find a large portion of the original Aryan roots in their primitive condition of monosyllables, containing a single vowel, expressing an abstract idea, and only capable of use after undergoing certain modifications. The Hebrew language occupies the same position in relation to the Semitic family; its roots being tri-consonantal. The Turanian family is well represented by the Chinese, which may be considered as consisting entirely of radicals. These three families of language have been considered hitherto, by the most learned philologists, as having little or nothing in common in their roots, or, if

\* *Lectures on Language*, 1st ser., p. 239.

† Monier Williams, *Sans. Gram.*, 2nd edit., p. 39.

there be a mutual relation, that its principles have yet to be discovered.

Confining our attention at present to the Aryan family, to which belong the Classical tongues and most of the languages of modern Europe, we find that the common roots, when traced back to their fountain head, though demonstrably identical, have certain differences in their literal expression which subdivide the family into races or tongues, as the Classical, which embraces the Greek and Latin, the High German, the Low German, the Slavonic, and the Celtic, with their subdivisions. For example, our own word "*to bear*" is a radical expression or root, which is found in the cognate languages thus :

<i>Sans.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>O. H. G.</i>	<i>Low G. &amp; Eng.</i>
bhar	fer-o	pir-u	bear.

It is here seen that the aspirate initial in Sanskrit and Latin is equivalent to the tenuis in High German, and the medial in Low German and English. These relations being constant and according to fixed laws, it results that when we find a certain radical form in one language we look for its equivalent in another language of the same family, not in a word having the same assonance, but modified according to the known laws. Now proper names do not in any language occupy this position. They are essentially derivatives, expressing concrete, not abstract, qualities, and are incapable of being traced by those affinities which belong to radical terms.

I would next remark that all proper names were originally common terms, expressive of some quality—epithets, in fact. This, I believe, holds good universally. Every proper name, whether of place or person, has or had a meaning. On a recent trial, a witness being asked who Jeffreys was, answered

that Jeffreys was — Jeffreys; as the Lancashire clown, in reply to a question what these long names meant, said, “Aw connaw tell thee gradely, boh aw think it’s to tell folk by.” This is quite true; but Jeffreys, besides its use in identifying the man, has a history of its own, signifying “God’s peace,” in an age of violence and disorder. So our English names, our Edward (the noble ward), and Henry (home rich), and Richard (rich heart), and Albert (all bright). The German Herman (war-man), and Rudolph (wolf of fame); the Greek Andromache (a fight of men), and Pericles (far-famed), and Diogenes (heaven-born), and Alexander (helper of men); the Roman Lucius (light or clear), and Scipio (a staff), and Cæsar (hairy), and Cicero (a vetch), were all originally epithets pregnant with meaning. The same principle is equally true with the names of places, and with proper names of every kind. From this it necessarily follows, that if we find the same name in two languages, in one of which it has an intelligible meaning, and in the other it is an appellation “to tell folk by,” and nothing more, it is clear that it is in the former that the origin of the name must be looked for. The mere appellation must be a derivative; it implies intercourse of some kind by which the name has been transmitted, and usually furnishes indications of the nature of the influence which has been exercised, and the channel through which it has been received. Within the domain of history, and even beyond it, the study of proper names affords valuable collateral assistance of a definite and demonstrative character.

It is when we get beyond this period, and approach the mythological era, that the danger begins. Of all human studies, probably mythology has given scope to the most erratic and extraordinary theories. The exploration of that early period of the human race, before the dawn of history,

when minds were plastic and open at every avenue to the influences of nature around, has always possessed a charm with eager and speculative intellects. In the absence of facts, imagination and fancy have free scope to luxuriate. The smallest incident, the narrowest ground, or fancied ground, of fact, is used as a basis for a magnificent superstructure of theory, bound together by false analogies and supposed connexions, in which logic and reason have little share. In these creations nothing is more easily pressed into the service than a species of etymology which uses words, and especially proper names, as a sort of Chinese puzzle, to take to pieces and put together in any form which may best suit the object in view. The slightest degree of assonance, which in true philological studies is of no importance whatever, is eagerly laid hold of as proof positive of the point to be established, utterly irrespective of race, language, place or time. Thus, if the theory is the mythological connexion of Palestine with India, Brahma and Abram are taken as identical, although the two words have not one single point or idea in common. If the connexion to be established is that of Egypt with Ireland, Isis is assumed to be the same as the Irish Eas, with not the slightest proof except a casual resemblance in sound. If Greece and Ireland are to be connected, then the Greek Mycenæ is shewn to be identical with Irish Muc-Inis. If a writer has a peculiar theory about the ancient Scottish Culdees, he makes no difficulty in associating the Caledonian Culdees with the Asiatic Chaldees. Nay, if a word does not suit the theory in spelling it the right way, the difficulty is easily overcome by spelling it backward. “Quant à la derivation des mots par addition, subtraction, transposition, et inversion des lettres, il est certain que cela se peut et doit ainsi faire, si on veut trouver les étymologies. Ce qui

n'est point difficile à croire, si nous considerons que les Hebreux escrivent de la droite à la senestre, et les Grecs et autres de la senestre à la droite."\*

The wild ravings of Henry O'Brien about the Round Towers and ethnological relations of Ireland, and the fanciful speculations of Godfrey Higgins respecting the British Druids, are principally based on this class of pretended evidence. The former, having adopted a theory that the Round Towers of Ireland are identical with the Lingams of India, and represent the male organ, proceeds to press into his service every thing in ancient names and antiquities. Almost every structure, from the Tower of Babel through the monoliths of Judea and the pyramids of Egypt, down to the Christian era, is a gigantic Lingam. Noah's Ark, Moses's cradle of bulrushes, the Ark of the Temple, and various other things were representations of the female organ. The ornaments of the Jewish temple, the pomegranates on the priests' garments, were representations of the same thing. All things in nature and art present themselves to O'Brien's mind as pictures of the organs of generation. In proof of this, etymology is his great resource; for instance, Sanskrit "Budh," which is usually supposed to mean knowledge, wisdom, is identified with the Irish "Fidh," meaning the male organ. In another place he identifies it with *Tuath*, in another with *Pooden*. If he wishes to shew the connexion of the Tower of Babel with the Indian Lingam, nothing is easier. The Tower is called, in Hebrew (Gen. ii. 4), "Magdil." Only reverse the word, and substitute *n* for *d*, and it becomes "Lingam!"

The days of what may be called the Romantic school of Philology are passing away. Here and there an isolated individual may still be found, who believes with O'Brien that a gridiron and a triangle are images of impurity; who

\* Guichard, *Harmonie Etymologique*, quoted by Max Müller.

can derive Brimham from Heb. Beth-Rimmar, the house of Rimmar, or a Saxon barrow from Heb. Bar-ruo, pit of lamentation; but such philologists are as rare as believers in alchemy or the philosopher's stone. It is now understood that assonance in sound, or casual resemblance in form, prove nothing except the great unlikeliness of any connexion.

The above remarks are intended to shew, that the conclusions to be drawn from philological inquiries require reasoning and demonstration of the same rigorous kind as are thought requisite in other sciences, and that without this such speculations are worthless and misleading.

Subject to these limitations, let us now inquire what assistance we can derive from proper names in a historical and ethnological point of view.

Proper names naturally range themselves under three heads; 1. *Prænomina*, or personal names, represented in modern times by the baptismal appellation; 2. Surnames, or family names, which, when extended, become those of races and nations; 3. Local names, attached to habitations, towns, districts and countries; and to the rivers, mountains and other prominent features of physical geography. I will offer a few remarks on each of these in order.

I. *Personal Names*.—If we analyse the personal nomenclature of our own country, we find a considerable number which are self-developed, that is to say, which possess a meaning, if not in the speech now current, at least in the language spoken by our direct ancestors. Edward, Henry, Robert, William, Godfrey, Roger, Albert, Alfred, *cum multis aliis*, are indigenous to the race. They let us into the counsels, so to speak, of our early fathers, and shew us the thoughts and feelings of the domestic circle at the birth and designation of a child. In general, they are expressive of gentle thoughts and kindly feelings. Frederic (peaceful king), Godfrey (the peace of God), Ethelred or Alfred (the



noble peace), manifest aspirations of better things in a turbulent and warlike age. Wilhelm (willing protector), Richard (rich heart), Ethelred (noble counsellor), Osmund (protecting hero)—shew the chivalrous and manly side of the Teutonic character; whilst Albert (all bright), Robert (bright fame), Lewin, Leofwine (beloved friend), Adela (noble lady)—testify that parental affection looked forward to a bright future for its offspring, as it does still.

Looking a little further, we find other classes of personal names, which in our own tongue convey no meaning, but which derive all their interest from association. John, Thomas, Mary, Saul, Bartholomew, Matthew, Samuel, Abraham, Rebecca are foreign importations. They come to us invested with a sacred character. They point to the source from whence they have been derived, and are standing monuments of a change of faith, and of the thorough incorporation of a religion derived from a distant source, with our every-day feelings and dearest family ties. Another class of personal names—Julius, Augustus, Horace, Constantine, Anthony, Septimus, &c.—indicate the introduction of the Latin language and literature, and their diffusion, in spirit as well as letter, in the channel of our modern civilisation. The same may be said of common names of Greek origin—George, Philip, Helen, Agnes, Theophilus, Theodore, Alexander, &c.

The personal names in use amongst a people are frequently very suggestive. We know that in the ninth century the Normans conquered the province of Neustria, in France, to which they gave their own name, and that before many years were over they adopted the French language as their vernacular speech; but it is very significative that they still retained their Teutonic name-system. Robert and William and Richard; Baldwin, Almeric, Godfrey and Tancred con-

tinued to testify to the foreign origin and dialect of the conquerors long after all other traces had passed away.

The same thing took place in Central France. The inhabitants of France are a Celtic race, whose language became almost entirely Latinised by the long dominion of the Romans. When the Franks at the end of the fifth century subdued the country and established the French monarchy, they were comparatively few in number, and became gradually absorbed into the general population, adopting the language of the conquered race. It will be found, notwithstanding, that with the exception of John and Philip, which are Scripture names, every King of France, from Clovis down to Charles the Tenth, has borne a Teutonic name. So long does the prestige of a conquering race survive in names, when all other traces have been long swept away. The great Napoleon (Napolilione, the lion of Naples, or Nauplia) was the first monarch of France who bore a name derived from a classical source.

Personal names display in a remarkable degree the feelings and habits of a people. In the same manner as our old Puritan names, Praise-God Barebones, Stand-fast-in-faith Gibbs, Turn-to-the-right Muggleton, manifest the religious convictions of the parents who conferred them, so the old Hebrew personal names bear strong evidence of the theocratic nature of the system under which they lived. Elijah (God the Lord), Eliezer (the help of God), Daniel (God the judge), Jeremiah (the greatness of God), Isaiah (the salvation of the Lord), attest powerfully to the dominant ideas ever present before the minds of the Jewish people. But the Hebrew names also give evidence of those touches of nature that make the whole world kin. Isaac (laughter), Jemima (handsome as the day), Benjamin (son of my right hand), David (beloved one), Sarah (my princess), indicate

the joy and hope of the parents' hearts ; whilst Benoni (son of my sorrow), Ichabod (the glory is departed), bring us into contact with domestic scenes of affliction and suffering.

The character of the Greeks, intellectual, active, and enterprising, is reflected in their personal nomenclature. Pericles (far-famed), Demosthenes (the strength of the people), Cleon (fame or glory), Isocrates (possessing equal rights), testify to the political spirit of the times. Alexander (a defender of men), Andromache (a fight of men), Ptolemy (strife or warfare), Leonidas (the son of the lion), present the warlike tendencies of the race ; whilst Eudoxia (a good report), Sophia (wisdom), Philoxene (love of the stranger), Theophilus (beloved of God), shew us the softer aspects of the Greek thoughts and feelings.

Many of the earlier Roman names are unintelligible in the Latin language as it has descended to us. Romulus and Remus, Tullus Hostilius, and Numa, with many other names, bear strong witness to the mixture of races which originally settled in Rome, and which have left no trace of their origin. Further forward in Roman history, the names begin to bear a meaning in the Latin tongue. Scipio (a rod or staff), Martius (belonging to Mars), Brutus (heavy, stupid), Rufus (red haired), Bubo (an owl), Cæsar (long haired), Quartus, Quintus, Sextus, Octavius, &c., sufficiently explain themselves ; but on the whole the Roman personal name-system is anything but clear, and points to an origin outside of, and previous to, the adoption of the Latin tongue as the language of the commonwealth.

This part of my subject might be much extended, but the inquiry would carry us too far for the limits of the present paper.

Our next division is the subject of surnames, or family names. The Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans in the earliest period of their history, bore only one name. The

system of family, in addition to personal names, was derived from the Sabines. This was afterwards amongst the Romans extended to three, and in later ages frequently to four, names, as Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus; where Caius is the "prænomen" or personal name; Julius, the "nomen" or name of the gens or tribe to which he belonged; Cæsar is the "cognomen" or name of the family or sub-division of the tribe; "Octavianus," is the "agnomen," which indicates that he was adopted from another 'gens,' the Octavii.

Commencing our survey as before with our own country, we find some remarkable differences in the nature and application of family names in the three kingdoms, which throw considerable light on their history and progress.

In England, south of the Tees, the great majority of surnames are derived from the names of places. Of the remainder, a large proportion are from trades, as Taylor, Smith, Wright, &c.; from personal peculiarities, as Green, Brown, Lovely, Wise, Goodman, Heavyside, Lightfoot, &c. The residue are for the most part either foreign importations, or have been originally appellations or nicknames, which have attached themselves to a family by use and custom. Clan or tribe names are almost unknown. In the other parts of the kingdom; in England north of the Tees, in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the prevailing surnames are patronymics; in Scotland and Ireland, they are the names of the clan or tribe. The reason for this difference opens up a very interesting chapter in the history of the settlement of the country. When the Angles and Saxons invaded England, they marched to the conquest in tribes, bearing a patronymic, supposed to be the name of their common ancestor. The Billings, the Warings, the Wallings, were respectively the children of Billa, Wœra and Walla. As they proceeded to extirpate or absorb the old inhabitants, they called the lands by their own names, Billingham, Walsingham, Wellington,

&c. The Saxons had only one personal name, and the tribal name, only applying to the tribe collectively, became gradually disused when the settled state of the country rendered association for mutual defence no longer necessary. Hence, when surnames were assumed at a later period, no tribal patronymics were left to fall back upon.

The country north of the Tees had a large infusion of the Danish and Norwegian element, in which it was usual from the earliest times to distinguish the parentage by the affix of "sen" or "son" to the paternal name. Olaf, the son of Eric, was distinguished as Olaf Ericsen; Niel, the son of John, as Niel Jansen or Johnson, and so on. When a fixed family name became requisite, about the fifteenth century, it naturally took the form of the accidental patronymic for the time being, and hence the numerous surnames ending in "son" which are found in the north of England and the south of Scotland.

In Wales, the custom of changing the patronymics was continued to a much later period, and in remote districts can hardly yet be said to be entirely obsolete. An old Welsh genealogy usually preserved the series of patronymics, as Roger ap Howel, ap Trevor, ap Robert, ap William, ap John, ap David, ap Thomas, &c. In modern times the ap (or son) has been dropped, and ap John becomes Jones, and ap William, Williams. Amongst the Gaelic race in Scotland and Ireland, the formation of surnames has been different. The more unsettled circumstances of the country continued the clan system to a much later period than elsewhere, and when the adoption of surnames for individuals became general, members of the clan naturally appropriated to themselves the name of their common ancestor, precisely as the Roman citizen took the name of the gens or clan to which he belonged. Thus, Rob Roy Macgregor Campbell, is almost the exact counterpart of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus,

From this short summary of the formation of surnames, some interesting conclusions may be drawn.

The name of a clan or tribe was not originally what we call a surname. It was rather a collective than a personal distinction, and was a pledge of mutual defence and protection in a time of rude violence, based on the idea of a common ancestry.

Amongst the Hebrews, where surnames were unknown, the relation of the individual to the community was expressed by the genealogical enrolment in the tribe to which he belonged, the records of which were carefully preserved and cherished. The Greeks, in their palmyest days, knew nothing of tribes, except in the large and somewhat indefinite sense of Dorians, Ionians, Achaians, &c.; and their name-system was purely personal; but the place of the tribe was supplied by the subdivision into numerous small republics, creating an intense local feeling, and exercising a sort of centripetal pressure on each individual towards a common centre. Amongst the Romans, patriotism, which meant the sacrifice of individual interests to the common good, was esteemed the highest virtue. The tribes, and their subdivisions, the *curiæ*, were the factors which made up the integer of the "*respublica*," or commonwealth. The individuals were mere fractions. Hence the early adoption of surnames, and the prominence always given to the collective denomination. The *curiæ* were corporations, each of which, in the *comitia curiata*, or general assembly, had one collective vote. Besides their collective influence in political affairs, each *curia* formed a distinct religious body, with their own altar and priest, and house of assembly for political discussion. The individual was thus merged in the clan, and it was his highest honour to identify himself thoroughly with it, in name as well as in spirit. This accounts for the unintelligibility of most of the Roman tribal

and curial names, as their origin is lost in the chaotic period before the component elements adopted a common language.

In England, the very reverse of this process took place. Amongst the Anglo-Saxon race, personal freedom and independence have always been the test of political liberty. Equality they have never cared for; but freedom of individual action and speech have been most jealously striven after and defended. We see this principle at work in the very early abandonment of tribal names, in the exclusively personal appellations, and, when at length surnames became necessary, in deriving them from personal peculiarities or local associations.

We now come to the consideration of local names, which afford much wider scope for speculation, and are calculated to reflect much more light on history and ethnology than those we have hitherto been considering.

If we examine carefully the map of England, we find the greater part of the names of our shires, towns, villages and hamlets formed out of our own tongue, and having a distinct and intelligible meaning; if not in our modern current speech, at least in that spoken by our direct ancestors. We find the patronymics, as Thurning, Gidding, Ludding, Billinge, &c.; the descriptions of habitations or collections of habitations—the “tons,” “wicks,” “hams,” “burys,” &c.; natural features, as “ford,” “brook,” “well,” “den,” “dale,” “hurst,” “wood,” &c. We have also the descriptions attached of East, West, North, South, high, low, &c. This suffices for a general description of the ordinary local nomenclature, which indicates that at some time or other the country was colonised by a race cognate to ourselves, who were in sufficient strength to settle the country, and call it by their own name. But if we look a little closer, we discover other phenomena. We find in various places, and especially round the coast, intrusive patches of names allied to, but not

identical with, the Saxon nomenclature. Such are "by," "thorpe," "thingwall," "ness," "thwaite," &c. These overlie the Saxon names, and shew that, subsequent to the Saxon settlement, another race, shewn by their language to be Danes or Norsemen, dispossessed the previous holders, and gave their own names to the lands. Looking a little further, we find indications, though much slighter than the last, of another intrusion and superposition of nomenclature. Such names as Malpas, Richmond, Beaumaris, have no meaning in English, and, if we had no history to confirm the inference, would distinctly intimate that a few settlers speaking the French language had had power in some instances to give their own names to the localities in question.

Proceeding further, we find other names of a different tongue underlying the general Anglo-Saxon stratification, and evidently of older date. A large number of towns and villages have their names terminating in Chester, modified in many cases into "cester," "caster," "-xeter," &c., as Lanchester, Colchester, Cirencester, Doncaster, Wroxeter, Exeter, &c. We can trace these through the Saxon form "*ceaster*" to the Latin "*castra*," the term for a Roman fortified place. There are other names, such as "Colne," Latin "*Colonia*," "Pontefract," Latin "*Pons-Fractus*," or broken-bridge, which point in the same direction. Many names of Anglo-Saxon origin also refer to Roman remains existing at the time of the Saxon settlements; Ermin Street, Watling Street, Stretton, Stratford, the Fosseway, indicate existing Roman roads, called in Latin "*strata*." Lexdon is a corruption of *Legionis Dunum*, Leicester, of *Legionis Castra*. Here then is indelible proof of the existence in England for a long period of the strong, powerful, and to a great extent beneficial, supremacy of Rome. We next find the remains of names which have evidently been Latinised, versions of appellations in a previous language, borne before the Roman



invasion. London, in English, can be traced to Lat. Londinium; but in neither language does it bear any meaning. Traced back to its Cymric form, we find it has an intelligible meaning, "Llyn-din," the brown marsh, adopted with a Latin termination by the Romans. The same principle applies to such names as York, Lat. Eboracum; Cymric, Eborac, or Evorac. In Wroxeter, we have the Cymric Wrac, or Vrec, still preserved in the hill called the Wrek-in, in the immediate vicinity. These Latinised Cymric forms shew very clearly that at the invasion of the Romans the places so indicated were already settled towns, the names being adopted by the conquerors, with the slight necessary modification to give them inflexion.

Going back a little further in our inquiry, we find many of the prominent features of the country, especially the hills and rivers, called by names having no meaning in our own tongue, but quite intelligible in the Cambrian language.

The word *Cwm*, Anglicised into *Combe*, signifying a hollow depression in the hills, is extensively found in the west and south. The word *Tre*, as a place or dwelling, is found in Cornwall and in the border counties of England. Most of our rivers also retain their Cymric names. The Esk, Axe, Usk (water), Avon (a river), Dulas, or Douglas (dark blue), Yarrow (rough), Derwent (clear stream), Don (water), Leven (smooth), Dee (black), with many others, retain the names conferred long before the Saxon or even the Roman invasion. The mountains of the north of England, Helvellyn, Blencathra, &c., also retain their Cumbrian names. From this we gather that there are clear evidences, apart from written history, that previous to the advent of the Saxons or of the Romans the country was peopled by a Celtic race, who have left behind no traces but the names, apparently indelible, which they gave to the great features of nature. This race appears to have been principally of the

Cymric or Welsh division, but there are a few indications in the names of the rivers, of a connexion with the Gaelic branch. Beyond this, philology will not carry us. If there were inhabitants in England previous to the Celtic immigration, they have left no trace of their language behind. Whether any physical remains exist of that early pre-historic period may be a question.

We have thus existing in England, independent of all written records, clear indications of the successive waves of population which overspread the country, and left their indelible records behind. We have a *tableau* of history before our eyes, inscribed on the face of the country itself, in characters which cannot be mistaken. What has thus taken place in our land is a type of similar operations in every other country, and rightly pursued, with due regard to analogy and induction, the examination of local names is a most valuable aid in the study of ethnology.

In Scotland, we find the same kind of process has been gone through, but with some difference in the details. Although there are considerable Roman remains north of the Tweed, yet the Roman names have almost entirely been lost, shewing probably the feebler hold which Latin civilisation obtained in these northern regions. The northwest and southeast of Scotland differ materially in their local nomenclature; the dividing line being to the north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde. South of this line there is a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic names, with a slight intrusion of the Danish element. The Celtic is of an intermediate character between the Welsh or Cymric and the Gaelic of the Highland district, derived probably from the Picts, who were the former inhabitants of this part of the country. North of this line the great majority of the names are pure Gaelic. The distinction between the Pictish and Gaelic districts is illustrated by a single word used for the outfall of a river,

which in the latter takes the form of Inver, as Inverness, Inverary, &c., and in the former is identical with the Welsh Aber, as Abernethy, Aberdeen, Abergeldie, &c.

In Ireland, as may be supposed, the Gaelic element in the nomenclature preponderates to a large extent, at least four times the whole of the others. The Danish element is small, not more than one per cent., but in particular districts there is a curious admixture, indicating successive settlements and conquests by different races.

The Isle of Man presents a singular combination of the original Gaelic with a larger infusion of the Norse or Danish than in any other part of the kingdom; the proportion per cent. of the names being of Gaelic 59, of Danish 20, and of Anglo-Saxon 21.\*

Before quitting our own shores, I would refer to one origin of local names, of which we have not many specimens in our own land, but which we have largely contributed to spread elsewhere. In the 18th chapter of the book of Judges, we read that a marauding party of the tribe of Dan emigrated to the country of the Zidonians, and after taking by force the city of Laish, "they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father." What was thus done by the Danites of old time was similarly practised by the Greeks of a later period, in their colonisation of Italy and Sicily, and in more modern times, has been adopted by the European colonists in America and Australia.

I have stated above, as a fundamental rule, that all local names had originally a meaning in the tongue of the people who apply them. This requires some qualification in the transfer of names from an old country to a new. The original meaning of the name may have been obscured by corruption, or have become obsolete, so that, in its new application, its associations are of an entirely different cha-

\* Taylor, *Words and Places*, 1864, p. 257.

acter to those of the earlier one. For instance, we have Boston in Lincolnshire, and Boston in Massachusetts. The name of the American town is simply Boston, and conveys no ideas but those of the distinction of a locality. The earlier Boston points to the shrine of St. Botolph, with its mediæval and monkish associations. Ethnologically, however, the value of names thus transferred is even greater than that of original names, as indicating more readily their origin and connexion.

The system of nomenclature in the colonised countries throws great light on ethnological researches elsewhere. Let us take, for example, the State of Massachusetts, almost purely settled by emigrants from England. If we look at the map, we find the prominent features of the country retaining their original Indian names, precisely as the similar features in England have retained their Celtic names. We have the rivers Connecticut, Merrimac, Piscataqua, Saco, Amoonoosuck, &c.; the lakes Sebago, Winipis-co-gee, Squam; the mounts Monadnock, Waset, Moose, As-cutney. The names of the settlements are such as demonstrate emphatically their English origin, but very few are original, or given with a meaning. Salem, Concord, Marblehead, Egg Point, Cape Cod, Halibut Point, and a few others, have had names conferred with this view, but the vast majority are the simple reproduction of English names. Plymouth, Portsmouth, Cambridge, Manchester, York, Dover, Gloucester, *cum multis aliis*, are found not only in this State but all over the Union. In the more recent States, the names of the eminent men of the country—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Monroe, &c., are laid under contribution; whilst Jonesvilles, Brownvilles, Greenvilles, &c. abound. Although the system may have been a little different, the ethnological value is the same. A colony must ever betray its origin, in the names it gives to the locality in which it

settles. Staten Island, Hoboken, Middleburg, New Amsterdam, the Hudson River, unmistakably indicate that the Dutchman planted his foot on the shores of New York; whilst New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Pontchartrain, Chaudesleu, Plaquemines, and St. Louis equally illustrate the track of the French along the banks of the Mississippi.

The principles thus deduced from what we learn from our own history and from the events passing under our eyes, when applied to more remote ages, if carefully and cautiously applied, will lead to very interesting results.

I have already alluded to the conquest of Neustria (now Normandy) by the Danes or Normans, and their rapid adoption of the French language. It could not be expected that, under these circumstances, there would be much in the names of places to recal the Danish dominion. There are, however, some traces. Such names as Bec, Caudebec, Dieppe, have no meaning in French; they are simply Danish words allied to our own, with a very slight corruption. Bec is a brook; the same word as is still applied in Cumberland to a rapid stream. Caudebec is simply Cold-beck. Dieppe is the Frenchified form of the Teutonic Deep. Bœuf is a corruption of the Danish By, so often found in English terminations. Elbœuf is equivalent to English Helsby.

My limited space will not permit anything like a general view of the name-system of Continental Europe, and the deductions therefrom. I can only, in a very cursory way, mention a few of the conclusions to which we are, step by step, led by deductions from the facts presented.

It has been stated, that the earliest inhabitants of a country usually leave remembrances behind them in the names of its salient features. By comparing these between one country and another, it is a fair inference that if we find, not merely isolated cases, but something like a regular correspondence in this respect, we may track the course of

a particular race in its progress of settlement and migration. In some cases it is possible we may touch upon the mythical, but rather in the way of tentative hypothesis than absolute assertion.

I have alluded already to the river names in the United Kingdom as evidences of a former Celtic population. Let us now carry the analogy a little further. The name Avon occurs repeatedly in the three kingdoms; and if we cross the Channel we find it repeated in France in a variety of forms—Aff, Avon, Aven; frequently contracted into Onne, as in Yonne, Sa-one, Auonne, &c. In Portugal we have the Avia and the Avono. In Italy we find the Aven-za, the S-avone, the Aufen-te, &c.

The Celtic Dwr, for water, has a wide extent. In England, we have the Derwent (Dwr-win), Dar-t, Calder, &c. In France, there are the Dor-dogne, formerly Dur-anius, the Dur-ance, Douron, with many others. In Spain, the Dour-o, the Duer-na, the Tor-io, the Tor-mes, &c. In Italy, the Tor-re, the Tur-ia, the Dor-ia. In Germany, there are the Dr-ave, the Dur-bach, Dur-renbronne, &c. The syllable *dur* is very extensively found in the Latinised version of Celtic names, and always indicates a town on the bank of a river; Dur-obrivœ, Dur-obernum, Ebo-dur-um, Veto-dur-um, &c.

The name Don or Dan for a river is very widely extended over the whole of Europe, from the Ural Mountains to the Atlantic. The names Esk, Usk, or Isk, and Rhe, are also extensively distributed. Indeed, the names of all the rivers of Europe are comprised in a very limited nomenclature, there being scarcely an instance of an isolated name.\*

The same connexion is observable in the names of mountains. The Gaelic Ben, Cymric Pen, is found in Scotland,

\* See Taylor, *Words and Places*. Pritchard, *Researches*. Zeuss, *Celtic Gram*.

Ireland, Wales, and England, Ben-Lomond, Pen-nant, Pendlehill, Pen-y-gant, Pen-rith. There are the Pen-nine Alps, and the A-pen-nines in Italy, La Penne, Pen-herf and Pen-march in France. The Cymric Cefn is the Cevennes in France. The Celtic dun, Cymric din; as a hill fort, is included in many Romanised Celtic names, Campo-dun-um, Camalo-dun-um, Carro-dun-um; many of which are modernised, as Lug-dun-um into Lyons in France, Lugdunum into Leyden in Holland, Melo-dun-um into Melun, &c.

The terms craig (a rock), tor (a hill), cwm (a hollow), llwch (a lake), tre (a dwelling), llan (an inclosure), man (a district), nant (a valley), and other similar terms, are distributed over the whole of Europe, and very clearly indicate the existence of a Celtic population, before the immigration of the Teutonic tribes in the north, and the Latin-speaking nations in the south. By a careful comparison of terms, it can even be shewn where the Gaelic and Cymric families were respectively domiciled. The name of the Crimea, formerly Cimmeria, now so famous in European history, testifies to the occupation of the country by the Cymry or Welsh-speaking Celts. A branch of these were called the Lloegr or Lloegrians, who have left their name in the Loire in France, (formerly the Liger), and in the province of Liguria, in Italy.

Besides the nations of modern Europe, the Romance or Latin-speaking races, the Teutonic tribes, the Slavonians, and the two branches of the Celts, which form collectively what is termed the great Aryan stock, there are a few outlying districts, about the base of the Pyrenees in the south, and in Lapland and Finland in the north, still occupied by the remains of a people of altogether different origin, which there is reason to believe once occupied a great part of Europe. Here the study of proper names comes to our aid, and is capable of rendering good service. Throughout the

north and centre of France the names of places have generally a Celtic base, first Romanised, and then corrupted and contracted into modern French; as *Lutetia Parisiorum* (now Paris), *Ambiani* (now Amiens), *Rotomagus* (now Rouen). In the southwest of France, this Celtic element almost entirely disappears. The base of the names can only be explained from the Euskarian or Iberian speech. A large number end in *ec* or *ac*, as Quissac, Levizac, Gignac, Cahuzac, &c., the *ac* being a Euskarian termination. There is even reason to believe that the term Britain, which has been such a puzzle to etymologists, was originally conferred on our island by Iberian mariners.

The Spanish peninsula probably presents the greatest mixture and confusion of successive races of any country in Europe. Originally peopled by the Iberian or Euskarian race, colonised by the Phœnicians, Tyrians, and Carthaginians, afterwards peopled by the Celts, who drove out or amalgamated with the previous inhabitants; then conquered and colonised by the Romans, invaded and subjugated by the Goths, who were in turn driven northward by the Moors, but afterwards succeeded in expelling their conquerors; we find the local names throw a flood of light on the history and mutations of the people. We have glanced at the Iberian and Celtic elements; the Phœnician nomenclature is equally suggestive. The name *Spain* or *Sapan* was first applied by the Phœnician mariners, and means the country of rabbits. Escalona is a modification of Ascalon; and Magueda, reproduces the Philistine Megiddo. Malaga is the Phœnician Malaca (salt). Carthagená is derived from Carthago-Nova. Osilippo, now Lisbon, contains the term *hippo*, the city or walled town, which is found in several other names of places on the Spanish coast.

Romanised names of course abound in the Peninsula, some pure and simple, as Ciudad Real (the royal city),



Valverde (the green valley), Villa-franca (free town), others merely Latinising a Celtic or Iberian word. The Moors, who held the country for nearly six hundred years, have left indelible marks of their dominion and supremacy in the nomenclature. Gibraltar (Gibel-al-Tarik, the mountain of Tarik), perpetuates the memory of a Moorish warrior, in the same manner that Orme's Head, in the principality of Wales, commemorates a Viking of Norway. The Arabic Wadi or Guadi (a ravine or river), gives name to the Guadalquivir, Wadi-l-Kebir (the great river), the Guadalmez, Guadalcazar, Guadalaxara, Guadalupe, &c. Sometimes the Arabic prefix is united to an ancient Phœnician name, as in the Guadiana (Wadi-anas). Trafalgar, (Taraf-al-ghar), is the promontory of the cave.

Scattered over Spain, we find multitudes of Arabic names, generally distinguished by the prefixes Ben, Al, or Cala, as Beniajar, Alcala, Almaden, Calatrava, &c. Medina Sidonia is a curious compound of the Arabic medina or city, joined to the ancient city of the Sidonians.

In the above remarks, I have hitherto avoided every thing of a doubtful or mythological character: the inferences drawn from the facts have been plain and simple and easily understood. I will, in conclusion, refer to a class of ethnological inquiries of a more radical kind, but at the same time not quite so easy of demonstration in their conclusions. Researches into remote antiquity are very attractive, if we are careful not to be carried away by the *ignis fatuus* of theory and fancied analogies. I will only give one specimen of this class of inquiries.

I have already said that all proper names originally bore a meaning; but in names of high antiquity this is not always apparent at first sight, and may have to be traced to its primary radical. The languages of modern Europe, with some of the Asiatic, are usually classed together as the

*Aryan* family. This appellation is taken from the name given to themselves by the two nations whose languages are the most ancient dialects of the family—the Sanskrit and Zend, or ancient Persian. The root *Ar*, or *Ir*, or *Er* is found in the appellations of many nations of this race. *Arya-varta* was the name of the country in India inhabited by the Aryas. The name of Persia, *Ir-an*, is attributed to the same source. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, the Medes and Persians claim to be of the Aryan race; and Darius is called an Aryan of the Aryans. By the Greek authors it is applied under the forms *'Aplā*, *'Aplava*, *'Aplai*, &c. We find it in the Scythian *Arimaspi*, in the names *Ariapithes*, *Ariantes*, &c. In the old Teutonic names we find *Ariovistus*, *Aribert*, *Ariaricus*, &c. The ancient name of Ireland, *Er-in*, is very closely connected with the same root. *Ireland* is the land of the *Irs*, or Aryas.

We also find in most of these languages derivatives from the same root expressive of noble qualities and of skilled labour. The original word *ar* meant “to plough,” and is preserved in nearly all the Aryan tongues with the same meaning:—Gr. *ἀρόω*, Lat. *ar-are*, Gaelic *ar*, Goth. *ar-jan*, Ang.-Sax. *erian*. When the nomade tribes first began to cultivate the land, the labour of the husbandman became the distinctive mark of excellence, and the name of “cultivator” an honourable distinction. *'Apl*, in Greek, is the prefix to most words expressive of excellence. *Ar-tifex*, in Latin, is the workman of skill, in opposition to *opifex*, the common labourer. In Gaelic, *air*, *aireach*, signify noble, excellent, rich. *Ari*, *arya*, in Sanskrit; *airy-a*, in Zend, have the sense of respectable, venerable. *Ar*, in Ang.-Sax., means glory, honour, reverence.

Now it would be very easy to go further, and, taking a wide sweep of the Eastern world, draw into a net every word containing the syllable *ar* which we can find; *e. g.*, *Ararat*,

Aram, Arabia, Ar of Moab, Araunah, Arba, Ariel, Arioch, &c., and thus, in imagination, "make the whole world kin;" but here sober judgment steps in, and reminds us of the principle with which we set out, that all proper names had originally a meaning, and therefore that radicals having the same sound but an entirely different signification in two languages, cannot be the same word. The Semitic *ar*, awaking or watching, cannot be the same root with the Aryan *ar*, ploughing or working. It is these considerations which must clip the wings of mythological fancy, and confine our researches within the limits of reasonable inference and logical analysis.

I must now bring these remarks to a conclusion. The science of language in its various aspects is a study well worthy of pursuit for its own sake, but much more for the light it is calculated to throw on the early history and progress of the human race. It is, therefore, of great importance that certain leading principles should ever be kept in view; that every step in our progress should be well defined and securely based. In this way only can we arrive at truth, which must always be the ultimate object of our inquiries.

A discussion followed the reading of the Paper, in which Dr. Inman, Rev. J. Robberds, Rev. J. Edwin Odgers, Dr. Ginsburg, and Mr. Unwin took part; and the thanks of the Society were voted to the Author.

## THIRTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING,

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 16th, 1866.

J. A. PICTON, Esq., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Mr. J. C. Redish was duly elected Honorary Secretary, in the place of Dr. Collingwood, resigned.

Mr. Charles S. Samuel was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

Notice was drawn by the Rev. W. Banister to the recent demise of Mr. Charles Wye Williams, one of the members of the Society, whose attention had been early devoted to the uses of steam, and who had been one of the first to take an active part in applying it to marine purposes.

MR. T. J. MOORE exhibited the following recent acquisitions to the Derby Museum, viz., a fine adult stuffed specimen of the white-collared Mangaby monkey (*Cercocebus Collaris*), from West Africa; a mass of spawn of a squid, from Dundrum Bay, showing distinctly the young in enormous numbers, each invested in its own yolk-sac, and having the form very fully developed, the eyes distinctly visible to the naked eye, and the body and arms covered with pinkish spots; also a specimen of the red band fish (*Cepola Rubescens*), from Dundrum Bay; a three-spotted wrasse (*Labrus Trimaculatus*), from the coast of the Isle of Man; and a bergylt or Norway haddock (*Scorpaena Norvegica*), from the Liverpool fish-market; also drawings of three cetaceans, from the Atlantic, lately presented to the Museum, with the entire skeletons of the animals, by Captain Walker, of the ship "Trenton," Associate of the Society, and which Dr. J. E. Gray has lately

described from these materials, in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, under the names of *Delphinus Walkeri*, *D. Moorei*, and *Clymene punctata*.

A Paper was then read by Mr. James Yates, F.R.S., entitled "An Account of the Greek Inscription on the Marble from Xanthus, in the Museum of the Royal Institution;" and subsequently the following Paper:—

## ON THE WRITINGS AND INFLUENCE OF COLERIDGE.

By J. C. REDISH, Esq.

THERE has probably been no man in England during the present century who has done more to stimulate thought—to encourage the analysis of principles—to trace to their very foundation in the human mind the various opinions held by men—to promote speculative inquiry in politics, in poetry, and in religion, than the wondrous thinker, Coleridge. That great man, towering above all by whom he was surrounded, has left for our contemplation thoughts upon almost every subject of human interest, and I have thought it would be no unprofitable employment of the time were I to bring before you some of the meditations of this great thinker, and the conclusions at which he had arrived. If the remarks I am about to make appear discursive, I must remind you that such was the nature of the mind of Coleridge, and that he has not left his views embodied in any single systematic work, but they are found spread over a series of volumes, many of them only given to the world after his death, and therefore sadly deficient in arrangement. It was too a weakness of Coleridge that, whilst fully equal to the power of conception, he often lacked a corresponding power of execution; and thus it has come to pass, that whilst much of our modern progressive theology has come from him, while many have owed to him their cultivation of logic and metaphysics, and while still more are indebted to him for that enlightened and appreciating spirit of criticism which is now becoming common, it often happens that his influence

is overlooked, and the obligation to him denied. With confidence can I appeal to the students of Coleridge for corroboration of the statement, that when familiar with his writings, they can discover in them the original germ of most of the thoughts of modern writers where they seem to surpass those of the last century, and whose principal mission seems to consist in the development of the principles laid down by Coleridge, and the deduction of further and more remote consequences from them. That this influence, enjoyed by Coleridge, has been exercised for good, will doubtless be the conclusion of all who appreciate the excellencies of the present age, and will, I trust, in some faint degree be strengthened by the paper of this evening.

The end which he proposed to himself will be best explained in his own words:—

(*Table Talk*, p. 146.)—"My system, if I may venture to give it so fine a name, is the only attempt I know ever made to reduce all knowledges into harmony. It opposes no other system, but shows what was true in each; and how that which was true in the particular, in each of them became error, *because* it was only half the truth. I have endeavoured to unite the insulated fragments of truth, and therewith to frame a perfect mirror. I show to each system that I fully understand and rightfully appreciate what that system means; but then, I lift up that system to a higher point of view, from which I enable it to see its former position, where it was, indeed, but under another light and with different relations;—so that the fragment of truth is not only acknowledged, but explained. Thus, the old astronomers discovered and maintained much that was true; but, because they were placed on a false ground, and looked from a wrong point of view, they never did, they never could, discover the truth—that is, the whole truth. As soon as they left the earth, their false

centre, and took their stand in the sun, immediately they saw the whole system in its true light, and their former station remaining, but remaining as a part of the prospect. I wish, in short, to connect by a moral *copula* natural history with political history; or, in other words, to make history scientific, and science historical—to take from history its accidentality, and from science its fatalism.”

You will have noticed that the great attempt of Buckle, in his *History of Civilisation*, had been anticipated by Coleridge, though in a different manner, and not on the same comprehensive scale.

We will first turn our attention to the metaphysical system of Coleridge, and point out some of his distinctive opinions. Among these the most important, in the judgment of Coleridge himself, was the distinction which he drew between the intuitive reason and the logical understanding. This distinction will be best shown by quotations from the *Aids to Reflection* (p. 208, &c.)—“Reason is the power of universal and necessary convictions, the source and substance of truths above sense, and having their evidence in themselves. Its presence is always marked by the *necessity* of the position affirmed: this necessity being *conditional*, when a truth of reason is applied to facts of experience, or to the rules and maxims of the understanding, but *absolute*, when the subject matter is itself the growth or offspring of the reason. Hence arises a distinction in the reason itself, derived from the different mode of applying it, and from the objects to which it is directed; according as we consider one and the same gift, now as the ground of formal principles, and now as the origin of *ideas*. Contemplated distinctively in reference to *formal* (or abstract) truth, it is the *speculative* reason; but in reference to *actual* (or moral) truth, as the fountain of ideas and the *light* of the conscience, we name it the *practical* reason.”



(P. 209.)—"On the other hand, the judgments of the Understanding are binding only in relation to the objects of our senses, which we *reflect* under the forms of the understanding."

(P. 215.)—"We have only to describe Understanding and Reason each by its characteristic qualities: the comparison will shew the difference. I. Understanding is discursive; Reason is fixed. II. The Understanding in all its judgments refers to some other faculty as its ultimate authority; the Reason in all its decisions appeals to itself as the ground and *substance* of their truth. III. Understanding is the faculty of *reflection*; Reason, of *contemplation*."

(*Table Talk*, p. 144.)—"The English public is not yet ripe to comprehend the essential difference between the reason and the understanding—between a principle and a maxim—an eternal truth and a mere conclusion generalised from a great number of facts. A man, having seen a million moss roses all red, concludes from his own experience and that of others that all moss roses are red. That is a maxim with him—the *greatest* amount of his knowledge upon the subject. But it is only true until some gardener has produced a white moss rose,—after which the maxim is good for nothing."

"Now compare this with the assurance which you have that the two sides of any triangle are together greater than the third. This, demonstrated of one triangle, is seen to be eternally true of all imaginary triangles. This is a truth perceived at once by the intuitive reason, independently of experience. It is and must ever be so, multiply and vary the shapes and sizes of triangles as you may."

To those who are at all familiar with metaphysical enquiries, it cannot be necessary to point out the antagonism which exists between these opinions, and those of the prevailing school of Locke. Some, indeed, may think such

enquiries to be entirely profitless; but they should be reminded of the saying of Coleridge himself, that "without metaphysics, science could have had no language, and common sense no materials" (*Aids to Reflection*). The views held regarding the very sources and foundations of human knowledge affect opinions on almost every conceivable subject. The appeal which Coleridge held would lie to the intuitive faculty, as possessed of power to judge of matters anterior to experience, and even contrary to it, he freely exercised in the formation of his own opinions. Hence, he referred to the necessary and intuitive beliefs of men as themselves the evidence of the truths they made known, and requiring no other voucher for their acceptance. Thus, in matters of religion, he held that the highest proof for the existence of a God was the universal belief in mankind of His existence, and would enquire (*Table Talk*, p. 307), "How did the Atheist get his idea of that God whom he denies?" With regard to Christianity—in which Coleridge was a devout believer—he perceived it to be the perfection of reason, and that the highest proof of its truth was its capacity of satisfying the loftiest aspirations of man; holding that the internal evidence for moral and religious truth was stronger than any which could be found exterior to the human mind.

This brief sketch will probably be sufficient to shew the fundamental difference between Coleridge and the opposite school of thinkers; and, abstruse as the statement has necessarily been, will serve to shew the influence he has exercised upon modern thought. Work these principles out to their legitimate conclusions, and they will be found to have influenced a large portion of the speculative enquiries of the present century. When we find the old faith in sensualism broken down, and the belief maintained that the human mind possesses other sources of knowledge than those which come

to it through the senses, then let us remember that Coleridge materially assisted in producing this beneficial result.

Recent enquiries have directed the attention of men to various questions connected with the Scriptures and their interpretation; most of these enquiries had been anticipated by Coleridge, and his *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, was the first of a series of works, during our own day, in which these questions have been discussed. Into these opinions it is, of course, impossible for me now to enter; all I can do is to point out his originality in the matter, and that his penetrating mind had foreseen that such questions would arise, and that he had done what he could to aid in solving them.

It must not be supposed, from the preceding remarks, that because Coleridge excelled other men in his speculative enquiries regarding the human mind, he was deficient in interest in the practical concerns of life. Many were the subjects on which he thought, and varied the questions on which he wrote. Coleridge devoted much of his attention to politics, and has left behind many profound observations on this science. He was no mere empirical thinker, as too many of our writers are at the present day. He saw too deeply into the constitution of human society, and appreciated too highly the functions and duties of government.

Remembering that Coleridge belonged to a political party diametrically opposed to that supported by John Stuart Mill, we may well believe that his merits must have been great to have drawn from Mill the following commendation.

(*Mill's Essays*, vol. i. p. 425.)—"The peculiarity of the Germano-Coleridgian school is that they saw beyond the immediate controversy, to the fundamental principles involved in all such controversies. They were the first (except a solitary thinker here and there) who enquired, with any comprehensiveness or depth, into the inductive laws of the existence

and growth of human society. They were the first to bring prominently forward as essential principles of all permanent forms of social existence, the three requisites of—I., a system of education, of which one main ingredient was *restraining discipline*; II., the existence in some form or other of the feeling of allegiance, or loyalty; and III., the necessity for a strong and active principle of cohesion among the members of the same community or state; as principles, we say, and not as mere accidental advantages inherent in the particular polity or religion which the writer happened to patronise. They were the first who pursued, philosophically and in the spirit of Baconian investigation, not only this enquiry, but others ulterior and collateral to it. They thus produced, not a piece of party advocacy, but a philosophy of society, in the only form in which it is yet possible, that of a philosophy of history; not a defence of particular ethical or religious doctrines, but a contribution, the largest made by any class of thinkers, towards the philosophy of human culture. The brilliant light which has been thrown upon history during the last half century, has proceeded almost wholly from this school. . . . And hence that series of great writers and thinkers, from Herder to Michelet, by whom history, which was till then “a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing,” has been made a science of causes and effects; who, by making the facts and events of the past have a meaning and an intelligible place in the gradual evolution of humanity, have at once given history, even to the imagination, an interest like romance, and afforded the only means of predicting and guiding the future, by unfolding the agencies which have produced and still maintain the present.”

This is indeed high praise, though richly deserved; such as is seldom merited, and rarely given. It will not, however, have been deemed excessive by those who have carefully

studied Coleridge's treatise *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, *The Statesman's Manual*, and his other writings on this interesting subject. The careful perusal of these works fully supports the conviction that few other writers have had a clearer insight into the constitution of society, and the principles which govern its progress; and a considerable portion of the re-action which has taken place in this century, from the Jacobinical and revolutionary opinions which, to a certain extent, prevailed at its commencement, must be attributed to the salutary influence of Coleridge. With the clearness of his intellectual vision, he saw, with Burke, that government as well as liberty is a good thing and equally essential to human happiness. It was, therefore, his endeavour to reconcile the functions of government with the liberties of the subject, and the former he held to be limited by a respect for the latter. It is, however, to be noted with regret, that occasionally the application of his own principles to the questions of the day was in some degree imperfect, as in the case of Catholic Emancipation, to which he was opposed.

As an instance of Coleridge's political foresight, may be quoted his remarks made in 1833, on the subject of the American Union (*Table Talk*, p. 201); "Naturally one would have thought that there would have been greater sympathy between the Northern and Northwestern States of the American Union and England, than between England and the Southern States. There is ten times as much English blood and spirit in New England as in Virginia, the Carolinas, &c. Nevertheless, such has been the force of the interests of commerce, that now, and for some years past, the people of the North hate England with increasing bitterness, whilst amongst those of the South, who are Jacobins, the British connexion has become popular. Can there ever be any thorough national fusion of the Northern and Southern States? I think not. In fact, the Union will be shaken

almost to dislocation whenever a very serious question between the States arises. The American Union has no *centre*, and it is impossible now to make one. The more they extend their borders into the Indians' land the weaker will the national cohesion be; but I look upon the States as splendid masses to be used by and bye, in the composition of two or three great governments."

(*Table Talk*, p. 230.)—"When New England, which may be considered a State in itself, taxes the admission of foreign manufactures, in order to cherish manufactures of its own, and therefore forces the Carolinians—another State in itself, with which there is little inter-communion, which has no such desire or interest to serve—to buy worse articles at a higher price, it is, in fact, downright tyranny of the worst, because of the most sordid, kind. What would you think of a law, which should tax every person in Devonshire for the pecuniary benefit of every person in Yorkshire? And yet that is a feeble image of the actual usurpation of the New England deputies over the property of the Southern States."

(*Table Talk*, p. 231.)—"The free class in a Slave State is always, in one sense, the most patriotic class of people in an empire; for their patriotism is not simply the patriotism of other people, but an aggregate of lust of power and distinction and supremacy."

These are words of singular truth, and mark the power and discrimination which Coleridge brought to bear on his political enquiries. It is well known, that for some years he was a regular contributor to the *Morning Post*, and did much to raise that paper into the high position it attained, especially with reference to its articles on foreign politics. He has left it on record, that his method of enquiry into the questions of the day consisted in substracting the differences, which he discovered between those events and others of a

similar nature recorded in history, from their resemblances; and then judging from the residue what the result was likely to be. Such was the influence of these articles, and the reputation they had attained, that Mr. Fox asserted, "that the recommencement of the war with France was produced by the *Morning Post*;" and during his visit in Italy, Coleridge became the specified object of Bonaparte's resentment, and an order for his arrest was actually sent from Paris.

A few brief sayings may here be quoted from Coleridge on political questions.

(*Biographia Literaria*, vol. i., p. 213.)—"In Mr. Burke's writings, the germs of almost all political truths may be found."

It is always a good sign when a political writer evinces a reverence for Burke, who was, without doubt, the greatest political philosopher the world ever saw.

(*Table Talk*, p. 84.)—"I, for one, do not call the sod under my feet my country. But language, religion, laws, government, blood—identity in these makes men of one country."

(*Table Talk*, p. 176.)—"It was the error of Milton, Sidney, and others of that age, to think it possible to construct a purely aristocratical government, defecated of all passion, and ignorance, and sordid motive. The truth is, such a government would be weak, from its utter want of sympathy with the people to be governed by it."

In this passage, attention is drawn to a simple, yet important, necessity for every government which is to exist with the willing consent of the governed, namely, that there shall exist sympathy between the two; that they shall have the same views, the same desires, the same objects, the same hopes, and even the same antipathies. Where these do not exist there can be no true harmony; and the principle of

duty towards the government can never be supplemented by the feeling of loyalty on the part of the governed.

There is an interesting passage in the *Table Talk* (p. 271), where Coleridge appears to have anticipated the existence of a modern personage. He says, "A Quaker is made up of ice and flame. He has no composition, no mean temperature. Hence, he is rarely interested about any public measure but he becomes a fanatic, and oversteps, in his irrespective zeal, every decency and every right opposed to his course." One might imagine these words to have been written within the last few years. They were, however, spoken on the 14th August, 1833.

In probably no department of literature has Coleridge rendered more service to his age, than in the new method and higher spirit of criticism which he introduced, and the truer appreciation which he thus secured for our great English writers: more particularly with reference to Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth, was this service rendered. In the ante-Coleridgian period Shakespeare was too frequently regarded as a wild, irregular, untaught genius, unacquainted with the productions of his predecessors, and incapable, therefore, from his ignorance, of either imitating or extending their art; in fact, that he used no art at all, and, therefore, by a happy chance, missed writing the regular type of tragedy which these critics admired, and wrote something in its place which was neither tragedy nor comedy, but still wonderful of its kind. From all this nonsense of the critics, Coleridge delivered us. He was the first in this country who boldly asserted, that "that criticism of Shakespeare will alone be genial which is reverential;" and that his supposed irregularities and extravagances were the mere dreams of critics, who ventured to condemn what they lacked the power to understand. He maintained, "that



in all points, from the most important to the most minute, the judgment of Shakespeare is commensurate with his genius—nay, that his genius reveals itself in his judgment as in its most exalted form.” And so far from allowing that the puny minds of these critics were to be the measure of Shakespeare’s art, he affirmed, “that to judge aright, and with distinct consciousness of the grounds of our judgment, concerning the works of Shakespeare, implies the power and the means of judging rightly of all other works of intellect, those of abstract science alone excepted.”

He exposed the folly of supposing, that because the rules of art applicable to the romantic drama were not the same which applied to the classical drama, that, therefore, no such rules exist; and showed that the very rules of criticism, by which any works of art are to be judged, can only be drawn, by a process of generalisation, from the examination of these works of art themselves. The result of such an examination into the plays of Shakespeare shows, that a compliance with the necessities of his art, and a knowledge of its requirements, is the cause of many a scene, of many a passage, and of many a line, which former critics had failed to understand; “for no work of genius dares want its appropriate form; and as it must not, so genius cannot, be lawless; for it is even this that constitutes its genius—the power of acting creatively under laws of its own origination.”

Having pointed out that science, and not prose, is the proper antithesis to poetry, and given his adhesion to the dictum of Milton, that poetry should be simple, sensuous, passionate; that “it should be simple, and appeal to the elements and primary laws of our nature; that it be sensuous, and by its imagery elicit truth at a flash; that it be impassioned, and so be able to move our feelings and awaken our affections;” he proceeds to point out in various details how

Shakespeare conformed to these eternal rules of criticism. The chief characteristics of his plays he deemed to be—

I. The preference of expectation to surprise.

II. Signal adherence to the great law of nature, that all opposites tend to attract and temper each other.

III. Keeping at all times in the high road of life; never rendering that amiable which religion and reason alike teach us to detest.

IV. Independence of the dramatic interest on the plot; the interest in the plot being always in fact on account of the characters, not *vice versa*, as in almost all other writers; the plot is a mere canvas and no more.

V. Independence of the interest on the story as the ground work of the plot; hence Shakespeare never took the trouble of inventing stories.

VI. Interfusion of the lyrical; that which in its very essence is poetical, not only with the dramatic—as in the plays of Metastasio, when at the end of the scene comes the *aria* as the *exit* speech of the character—but also in and through the dramatic.

VII. The characters of the *dramatis personæ*, like those in real life, are to be inferred by the reader—they are not told to him.—And lastly :

VIII. In Shakespeare the heterogeneous is united as in nature. You must not suppose a pressure or passion always acting on or in the character;—passion in Shakespeare is that by which the individual is distinguished from others, not that which makes a different kind of him. Shakespeare followed the main march of the human affections. He entered into no analysis of the passions or faiths of men, but assured himself that such and such passions and faiths were grounded in our common nature, and not in the mere accidents of ignorance or disease. This is an important consideration, and constitutes our Shakespeare the morning star, the guide and the pioneer, of true philosophy.

I have given you, somewhat at length, the principles laid down by Coleridge in his Shakesperian criticisms, and must refer you to his own writings for their detailed application to the various plays. It will at once be seen how these principles differed from those of his predecessors, and the advance which was thus made in the art of criticism. These principles are now no longer new, but have become practically familiar to every one of us; and we are accustomed to look with more reverence, not only on the writings of Shakespeare himself, but on those of all our great poets, with a hearty desire to discover their meaning in passages which we did not understand at first, doing them the justice to believe that if they possessed more genius than other men, they were not therefore void of common sense. Much of the enlightened appreciation which is now shown for Shakespeare is undoubtedly due to the writings of the German critics, and to Schlegel in particular. We must, however, remember that the lectures of Coleridge were delivered two years before those of Schlegel, and that as regards him, therefore, these principles were original in the mind of Coleridge. It does seem strange that nature, which has provided this island with such marvellous poets, should hitherto have so ill provided us with critics, and the appearance, therefore, of Coleridge, and his labours in this department of literature should be the more gratefully remembered. He who points out to us beauties, which were before unobserved, adds as it were a new power to the mind, and opens up to us enjoyments of which we should otherwise remain deprived.

With regard to Wordsworth also, Coleridge rendered great service, in pointing out his merits, at a time when they had still to make their way with the public, and when his writings afforded matter for derision only to the *Edinburgh* and other reviews. The fame of Wordsworth, like that of Shakespeare himself, now stands on too lofty a pedestal to require support even from Coleridge himself; but we are all

aware that when these writings were first given to the world, they met with little favour from the unthinking many, or the blind guides who sought to direct them. One of the leading critics of the day commenced his article with a damnatory—"This will not do;" and other and inferior critics followed in his wake. The attempt of Wordsworth to restore poetry to its true simplicity; to arouse the feelings, by associating them with the natural objects around us; to enlist human sympathy for the daily cares, the tender affections, and the simple desires, even of the ignorant, the lowly and the poor—these objects, which he so nobly achieved, were derided and condemned by the self-elected judges of the hour. But the purer taste and clearer judgment of Coleridge saw their error, and pointed out the true merits of Wordsworth, and this too without allowing his partiality to mislead him; for with true kindness and perfect accuracy he at the same time discerned and censured the characteristic faults which Wordsworth displayed. It is, in fact, curious to note, how completely the judgment of Coleridge on these points has been confirmed by later critics; and were it desired to find a statement of the comparative faults and beauties of the poet now under consideration, probably no calmer and more accurate judgment could be found than the one in Coleridge's sketches. He does ample justice to the poet's excellencies, and points them out in detail. He praises the austere purity of his language, both grammatically and logically:—a merit of no slight importance, considering the close connexion between veracity and habits of mental accuracy. He points attention to the weight and sanity of the thoughts and sentiments, drawn direct from the poet's own meditative observation. He refers to the strength and beauty, the choice felicity of his diction, as shown in many a line, and many a verse. He recognises the perfect truth of nature in his images; proving the long and genial intimacy which

Wordsworth possessed with the very spirit which gives the expression to all the works of nature. He did homage to that highest excellence, even of poetic genius itself, the union of deep and subtle thought with sensibility—the sympathy with man as man—which was so preeminently the characteristic of Wordsworth. Nor, lastly, did he fail to claim for the poet the gift of imagination, in the highest and strictest sense of the word; boldly asserting, that in the power of this faculty, he stood above all modern writers, and with an originality which was entirely his own.

This brief sketch will enable us, in some degree, to judge of the analytic power which Coleridge brought to bear on the works which formed the subjects of his criticisms, and might, indeed, be referred to as an example and a model for critics to imitate, especially with reference to his endeavour always to understand his author before pronouncing his judgment.

But it was not only in the power which he possessed of appreciating the poetical productions of others that Coleridge claims our attention. He was himself a poet of a very high order. The time has long passed when sneers can be allowed at the “Lake Poets,” as Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey were termed; and the two former, at all events, have taken a place in English literature from which they are not likely to be deposed. The influence of Wordsworth has gone on increasing from year to year; and the admiration for Coleridge has not lagged behind. The taste and the genius of Coleridge inclined him to that pure love of nature which we now look for in every true poet; and he well knew—

“ That Nature ne’er deserts the wise and pure.  
 No plot so narrow, be but Nature there,  
 No waste so vacant, but may well employ  
 Each faculty of sense, and keep the heart  
 Awake to Love and Beauty.”

That he was no servile imitator of Wordsworth is shewn by the circumstance, that the larger portion of his poetical works were composed before he was acquainted with Wordsworth, and before his writings were given to the world; and yet there is apparent in them that return from conventionalism to nature, for which the present age is so much indebted to these two writers. They both alike possessed a wonderful power of associating feelings with the external forms of nature, and by this means of making the feelings more intense, and more readily communicable to others. How thoroughly Coleridge associated his deeper feelings with every form of nature by which he was surrounded, is beautifully described in those touching lines, in his *Fears in Solitude*, when he thus apostrophises his native land:—

“O native Britain! O my Mother Isle!  
 How shouldst thou prove aught else but dear and holy  
 To me, who, from thy lakes and mountain-hills,  
 Thy clouds, thy quiet dales, thy rocks and seas,  
 Have drunk in all my intellectual life,  
 All sweet sensations, all ennobling thoughts,  
 All adoration of the God in nature,  
 All lovely and all honourable things—  
 Whatever makes this mortal spirit feel  
 The joy and greatness of its future being?  
 There lives nor form nor feeling in my soul  
 Unborrowed from my country. O divine  
 And beauteous Island! thou hast been my sole  
 And most magnificent temple, in the which  
 I walk with awe, and sing my stately songs,  
 Loving the God that made me.”

There exist but few purely descriptive passages in Coleridge's poetry, which belongs rather to the class termed subjective, than to the descriptive or objective school. This constitutes to many a charm, and is found a difficulty by others. It is contended by some, that a poet should narrate

events, or picture scenes, and excite within his reader, by an involuntary process, the feelings he desires to produce; while others prefer that the poet should at once unfold the emotions by which he himself is moved, and arouse them in others through the natural operation of the law of sympathy or association. The metaphysical nature of the mind of Coleridge inclined him in the latter direction; and it is not improbable that his early attachment to the system of Hartley may have had its influence in this matter. The accusation, however, of being metaphysical has been freely urged against him by unfriendly critics, or jealous rivals; and, no doubt, this characteristic of his writings renders them less interesting to a certain class of readers. They are, however, less metaphysical than the writings of Shelley, and, though inferior to his in power of imagination, are superior to them in all that relates to the affections. No one can carefully peruse the whole of his poetical writings, without being deeply impressed with that spirit of benevolence—that love for his species, which pervades them throughout; and they are at the same time free from that oblivion of God, and that contempt for man, which respectively characterise Shelley and Byron.

In that most difficult of all forms of poetry—the Ode, Coleridge has achieved the greatest success; and his three odes, *France*, *The Departing Year*, and *Dejection*, are noble contributions to our literature. It requires a refined and cultivated taste to appreciate an ode, or a sonnet; few, indeed, are the writers, and rare the specimens, which satisfy the critical judges of these compositions. It is indeed no small praise to say of any man, that he has produced three such compositions, each of the highest order. Undoubtedly, the best of these is *France*, pronounced by Shelley “the finest English ode of modern times.” It is, in the truest sense, grand; and none who read it can remain

unmoved by the fire which it exhibits. It sweeps you along with its majesty, and yet possesses the power of satisfying the calmest judgment. When the fever excited in the minds of sanguine men by the first outburst of the great French revolution had passed away, and they beheld the excesses to which it had led, and the violence of its promoters, no doubt there was a revulsion in the minds of many which led them to regret the sympathy they had felt for its early movements. Coleridge was one of these; and, appealing to all the elements around him, could ask—

“When France in wrath her giant limbs upreared,  
And with that oath which smote air, earth, and sea,  
Stamped her strong foot, and said she would be free,  
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared.”

But soon, alas! he found those hopes unfulfilled, and those fears accomplished. It is for ever true:—

“The Sensual and the Dark rebel in vain,  
Slaves by their own compulsion! In mad game  
They burst their manacles, and wear the name  
Of Freedom, graven on a heavier chain.”

Well might he invoke the spirit of Freedom to forgive the dreams in which, along with so many others, he had indulged.

This ode, along with the other two previously named, is strongly recommended for perusal by those who may not already be familiar with the poetry of Coleridge. Among other pieces may also be named, *Fears in Solitude*, *The Nightingale*, *Reflections on having left a Place of Retirement*, and the magnificent *Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni*, of which Professor Wilson declared, “that he doubted if there be any single strain equal to it in Milton or Wordsworth: if there be, it is Adam’s hymn in Paradise.” I shall not trouble you with



quotations from these poems, which is seldom a satisfactory mode of doing justice to an author, but must leave them for your quiet enjoyment when time and opportunity serve; the present object being rather to point out the wide field which was covered by the genius of Coleridge, and the excellence he attained therein.

While speaking on this subject two pieces will at once have occurred to the recollection of every one—*Christabel* and the *Ancient Mariner*, on which it is necessary to say but little, as they are so generally known. It may, however, be well to know the object which the writer had in view in composing these productions. By an arrangement with Wordsworth, who proposed as his object to give the charm of novelty to the things of every day, drawing his subjects from ordinary life, and taking such characters and incidents as are to be found in every village and its vicinity, Coleridge undertook the contribution of some poems in which the incidents and agents were to be, in part at least, supernatural, or at least romantic, and the affections were to be interested by the dramatic truth of just emotions thus excited. The result of this arrangement was the production of these two poems, which have established for themselves a permanent place in our literature, and are sufficient for the fame of the author. Each one will remember the spell exercised over him by the first perusal of the *Ancient Mariner*, which loses none of its freshness by familiarity, and none of its interest by repetition. *Christabel* is a beautiful fragment, though incomplete, and must be regarded in the light of a fairy dream, where much is left vague and indistinct for the express purpose of raising the imagination and exciting curiosity. It were vain to inquire the source of the influence which the Lady Geraldine exercises over the beautiful *Christabel*, or to seek to know who she was and whence she came. Enough that she appears on the scene, and in some myste-

rious way has power to move the "lovely Lady Christabel." Time will not allow for more to be said of these two exquisite productions, and it can scarcely be needed; it was, however, impossible to omit all reference to them.

In addition to his own original contributions to poetry, Coleridge is well known as a translator from the German of the dramas of Schiller, *Piccolomini* and *The Death of Wallenstein*. These productions, which are regarded in Germany as among the master-pieces of German literature, have by this means been rendered familiar to most English readers, and have afforded delight and instruction to many. There are those among us well qualified to judge of the fidelity of the translation and the justice which has been done to the original author. Even those who cannot so judge may well infer, from the charm found in the translation, that either a faithful rendering is given of a genuine work of art, or that the translator himself has manifested genius of no common order. These translations are ranked among the very best we possess in our language of any works of modern Continental literature, and have had their influence in promoting the study of the original language wherein such compositions have been written.

This faint outline of the range of Coleridge's genius will, in some respect, enable us now to judge of the position he holds in the world of letters, and the influence he has exercised over later writers. The main object of this Paper will have been served, if some assistance has been rendered in the solution of a question which is often asked, viz., Has the influence of Coleridge on modern thought been extensively beneficial? The conclusion, one would think, cannot be other than in the affirmative. When we regard the scope and objects of the teaching of Coleridge,—the

firm grasp of first principles which he possessed,—the extent and variety of his learning,—the acuteness and subtlety of his mind,—we cannot but recognise him as one of the master spirits of the age; and when we review the service he has rendered in the various departments of Metaphysics, Theology, Politics, Criticism and Poetry, we can scarcely dissent from the conclusion, that the influence of Coleridge on these great questions has been beneficial to mankind to an extent which has hardly been exceeded by any of his cotemporaries.

## FOURTEENTH ORDINARY MEETING.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, April 30th, 1866.

Dr. NEVINS, V. P., in the Chair.

Ladies were present at this meeting on the invitation of the Council.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.

Dr. Praag was duly elected an ordinary member. Cuthbert Collingwood, M.A. and M.B, Oxon., F.L.S., &c., was duly elected an honorary member.

Mr. T. J. MOORE exhibited and made some remarks upon the mounted skeleton of the Dodo, formed from the series of bones from Mauritius collected by Mr. Harry P. Higginson, and presented by him (through the kind offices of Mr. James P. Higginson) to the Derby Museum, and which in their dismounted state were brought before a recent meeting of the society. The skeleton needed only the hinder part of the cranium, the toe bones, and a few ribs and vertebræ to make it perfect. The *furculum* and a few other bones had been lent to Professor Owen, to aid him in the preparation of his forthcoming monograph on this extinct bird.

The following note was received with these valuable and most interesting remains :—

“ MAHEBOURG, MAURITIUS,

“ November 5th, 1865.

“ The accompanying bones, belonging without doubt to the Dodo, were found in a *peat bog*, within a mile of the sea

coast, and owe their wonderful state of preservation, I fancy, to the well known preserving qualities of peat.

"These bones must be at least two hundred years old, as I believe the Dodo has been extinct for that length of time.

"Though once the Dodo was to be found anywhere in Mauritius, no bones have ever been found up to within the last five weeks. They were found in the following manner :

"Mr. Du Bissy, the owner of the bog (called the *Mare des Songes*) in which the bones were found, had a lot of the peat soil taken out for manure ; some bones having been found, Mr. Clarke's attention was called to them. They proved to be the bones of a species of Turtle, now extinct in Mauritius. He prosecuted a fresh search, and found the bones of the Dodo, which have, I believe, been sent to the British Museum. I had men searching for them in conjunction with him, and succeeded in finding a great many bones that were still wanting to complete a skeleton.

(Signed)

"HARRY P. HIGGINSON,"

Dr. GINSBURG then read the following paper—on "The English Versions of the Bible, in their connexion with the Ancient Translations."

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